



# Social Progress

Ministers in Industry  
MARSHAL L. SCOTT

The Christian Doctrine of Man  
JOHN C. BENNETT



SEPTEMBER 1953

# Social Progress

Vol. XLIV No. 1

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## FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

### Introducing Mr. Sissel

**W**E ARE proud to present Rev. H. B. Sissel, a new member of the staff of the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education.

Mr. Sissel has been pastor of the Saint Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Detroit, Michigan. He came to that church, which is located in a changing neighborhood, in 1949. The story of how Saint Andrew's became a racially integrated church under Mr. Sissel's leadership has been told in feature stories in Detroit newspapers, in an article by Walter White that appeared in the July 18 issue of *The Saturday Evening Post*, and in a feature story by Howard Whitman in the August issue of *Redbook*.

Parsons College and McCormick Theological Seminary are Mr. Sissel's alma maters. He was ordained in 1948 by the Presbytery of Dubuque. Following seminary, he entered the Divinity School of Yale University for a year of graduate work in the field of Christian ethics.

In the Department of Social Education and Action, Mr. Sissel will serve as Assistant Secretary with special responsibilities in research and program development. He will work with other members of the SEA team in developing study and action resources for presbyteries and churches, in editing *SOCIAL PROGRESS* and other SEA publications of the Board of Christian Education, and in asserting the social witness of the Church in line with the social pronouncements of the General Assembly.

### Dr. Scott to Serve as Economic Consultant

**A**RRANGEMENTS have been made whereby Dr. Marshal Scott will serve as consultant on economic life to the Department of Social Education and Action.

Dr. Scott is a member of the staff of the Division of Missionary Operation of the Board of National Missions. He has achieved distinction as the Dean of the Institute on Industrial Relations, a Na-

tional Missions project, in which some seven hundred ministers in churches serving industrial communities have received valuable in-service training during the last several years.

Dr. Scott is widely known as one of Protestantism's best informed and most skilled leaders in the field of industrial relations.

The new arrangement will not affect Dr. Scott's relationship with the Board of National Missions. It will, however, permit him to work in close co-operation with the SEA staff in developing study and action programs in the field of industrial and economic life. Dr. Scott's first contribution to the work of the Department is the excellent article that appears on page 5 of this magazine.

## Korea and the UN

THE truce has put an end to fighting and to killing, but it is not a solution of the tough Korean problems. Now comes the hard work of achieving a fair and lasting peace, of restoring a broken and suffering country, of finding some real answers to the questions that sorely perplex and divide the world.

We must believe that peace is possible. We must have faith that just terms of settlement can be arranged between North Korea and South Korea, and between the UN forces and Red China. We must confide in the political processes by which the hope of a united and free Korea may finally be realized.

The fighting finished, we face now the gigantic task of helping the tired and punished people of Korea to rebuild their lives and to restore their cities. An estimated ten million people in South Korea are desperately in need of food, medicine, clothing, shelter. And beyond such help is the long-range need of assistance, in the nature of Point Four, in rehabilitating the nation's economy. Here is a vast undertaking that challenges the best efforts of both private and public agencies.

The United Nations emerges with heightened prestige and enlarged responsibilities. We are wise to urge our Government to make the UN "a major cornerstone of American foreign policy" and to use the UN "as a major channel and reliance for the realization of our security objectives." Many men of wisdom and good will believe that the UN offers the best possible arrangements for a clean approach to the Soviet powers and for an honest settling of the differences that endanger the peace.



## The Dixon Case — Continued

OUR friends of the Dixon, New Mexico, Free Schools Committee maintain a constant guard against violations of Church-State separation in the operation of public schools in their state.

Their great work in attacking former flagrant violations and establishing the separation principle through drawn-out court actions has been fully reported in SOCIAL PROGRESS (December, 1949; November, 1950; January, 1952).

Violations still continue. It is reported, in Penasco, for example, that Mass was celebrated in connection with public school graduation exercises and Protestant children, though awarded their diplomas, were not allowed to take part in the program.

A contempt of court case filed by the committee against a local school board is now pending before the New Mexico Supreme Court.

All this costs money. The committee reports that it needs considerable help in a hurry. ***Friends are sending contributions to the Free Schools Committee, Box 45, Dixon, New Mexico.***

## Ministry to Labor

AN ESTIMATE of the number of Presbyterian Church members who belong to labor unions published four or five years ago placed the proportion at 11 per cent. If this ratio were true today, it would mean that 275,000 members of our churches in the United States are identified with organized labor.

This would appear to be, roughly, a true figure if the number of Presbyterians in labor unions is proportionate to the number of Presbyterians in the total population. One person in 63 in the population of our country is a member of a Presbyterian (U.S.A.) church. This ratio applied to the 16 million members of organized labor in the United States would come to a figure of 255,000.

It is highly probable, however, that the number of labor union members in our churches is somewhat less than these figures. The great growth of our churches in suburban communities would tend to reduce the 11 per cent estimate of several years ago. Perhaps the ratio is more like 8 or 9 per cent or in the neighborhood of 200,000 members. Even so, this would mean that about one fourth of the adult male membership of our churches is connected with organized labor.

Yet we too often act like an upper middle class Church. The composition of the Church boards and courts usually reflects the large influence of our suburban constituency as well as a myopic disregard of the importance in our fellowship of the smaller churches in industrial and intercity communities where workers are most likely to be living.

Here is the significance of the recommendation in the social pronouncements of the last General Assembly: "We urge every church to seek an effective ministry to bring together in Christian fellowship, men and women from all occupations and walks of life, since we recognize that our churches all too often fail to minister across economic lines to all groups in their communities."

### Memo for Ministers

THERE is a variable distance between Christian principles of behavior and American economic practices. The prevailing materialistic goals of economic success do not come very near to the purposes and imperatives enunciated by Christ. This double standard of morality is confusing and disturbing to a great many people in the world of industry and commerce. Numerous sermons have been preached all around this subject, but too often our counsel has been not light but darkness.

Many ministers will want to have a thorough and firsthand acquaintance with the splendid study books in The Ethics and Economics of Society series now being published by Harper & Brothers for the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches. These are the result of an extensive project under a generous grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The project is supervised by a notable committee chaired by Charles P. Taft.

Three of the series have now appeared: *Goals of Economic Life*, edited by A. Dudley Ward, \$4.00; *The Organizational Revolution*, by Kenneth E. Boulding, \$3.50; and *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman*, by Howard R. Bowen, \$3.50. The books to be published in the next few months are: *American Income and Its Use*, by Elizabeth Hoyt, Joseph McConnell, Janet Hooks, and Margaret Reid; *The American Economy and the Lives of People*, by A. Dudley Ward, Stanley Leavy, and Lawrence Freedman; and *Ethics and Economic Life*, by Howard R. Bowen, John C. Bennett, William Adams Brown, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Roswell P. Barnes. (Prices to be announced.)

—Clifford Earle



# Ministers in Industry

By MARSHAL L. SCOTT, *Dean of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, McCormick Theological Seminary.*

ONE of the several areas in which Presbyterians are pioneering is the approach of the Church to industrial communities. Presbyterians had the first official Protestant department concerned with labor when Rev. Charles Stelzle was made Secretary of Church and Labor of the Board of Home Missions in 1903. For the past nine years Presbyterians have been pioneering in training ministers for industrial communities. The agency has been the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, a project of the Department of City and Industrial Work of the Board of National Missions.

Some indication of the need for such an activity is revealed by recent census figures. In spite of our great land resources, the United States is today an industrial-urban nation. Of the 62,234,000 gainfully employed persons, about 7,598,000 are engaged in agriculture and 54,636,000 are engaged in nonagricultural industry.

Professional and technical occupations account for about 7.4 per cent of our people; management and officials of our corporations plus all proprietors (people who operate their own businesses) account for another 10 per cent; farmers, farm

managers, farm tenants, and farm labor take up 11.7 per cent. The other 70.9 per cent of Americans are non-agricultural labor, from skilled craftsmen and salespeople to the lowest skill, "common labor." Some of them live in villages and rural neighborhoods, but most of them live in cities, particularly in the larger cities.

**It is the nature of industry** that men work together, for each one does one fragmentary and repetitive operation of a total activity. This is in contrast to a handcraft society, where men work individually. Since men work together, often in larger groups, they necessarily live close together. This means that an industrial society—such as America now is—is inherently an urban society.

In the United States in 1950, 64 per cent of the population was urban. Of the 36 per cent classified as rural, less than half were farmers. Half of the urban population live in cities of more than 100,000 persons, and one fourth of all the people in the United States live in the twelve urban areas that have more than a million people.

In spite of our great land areas, nearly half of our people are in the

157 "urban areas," and the average concentration of living in these 157 areas is more than 5,000 persons per square mile. In New York City there are more than 25,000 persons per square mile.

**The America of today**, the America to which the gospel may be preached in this generation, is the nation in which two thirds of the people are urban labor. At work their lives are tightly interwoven with the lives and work of other men and women. At home they are in crowded neighborhoods, often of conglomerate cultural and racial backgrounds, where each person's sounds and actions quickly trespass upon the individualism of other persons. Each is dependent upon his neighbors; each is rubbed by friction with his neighbors. About one third of this urban labor is organized in labor unions.

How can the good news of Jesus Christ be brought to mid-twentieth century American labor? How can the power and the goodness of the Spirit of Christ be brought into industrial communities? How can justice and freedom be extended? It is because of this opportunity that the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations was established by the Board of National Missions in January, 1945.

The Institute cuts across three traditional areas of Church activity. It involves evangelism, social educa-

tion and action, and theological education.

It is evangelism in that the primary purpose from the beginning has been to strengthen the mission of the Church to the wage earners of America. Presbyterian churches have been least effective in these areas where the largest segment of our population is now concentrated. It is for this reason that the Institute was founded by the Department of City and Industrial Work of the Board of National Missions and has always concentrated upon the problems of the inner-city church. The Institute was invented by Dr. Jacob A. Long when he was secretary of the Board's Unit of City and Industrial Work.

It is social education and action in that it has been understood from the beginning that there is no effective evangelism among the workers of America apart from the witness of Christian living. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Among workers, the attitudes and actions of ministers and laymen toward injustices, exploitation, misfortune, racial discriminations, and community activities far outweigh the words of sermons, prayers, and class teaching.

It is theological education in that the method of the Institute has been to give special training to ministers and theological students. This is training supplementary to that now given by our seminaries, to fill the gap in our theological education.



**What has the Institute** attempted to do? It has attempted to give ministers and theological students a firsthand experience of how men work, how they live, what they say, what they do, what they feel, what they think, what they believe (or don't believe), and *why* they work, live, speak, act, feel, think as they do, as a basis for proceeding with an effective evangelism and ministry to the wage earners of America. A slogan sometimes used by the Institute is: "We will not convert all the men until we have again learned to convert all of a man."

Some 750 ministers and theological students have received the Institute training. Three Presbyterian elders have taken the course (and more would be welcomed). This includes a number of ministers from other denominations.

**The in-service training** for ministers is a three-week seminar. There are factory visits, discussions with management, visits to union halls, discussions with union leaders, study of changing urban neighborhoods and urban living, visits to various social agencies, study of city churches, plus lectures and discussions in understanding industrial life and in planning a Church mission to industrial people. These seminars are limited to approximately twenty ministers in each group. The seminars have been held in New York, in Chicago, and in San Anselmo.

**The Ministers in Industry** summer project is for students of theological seminaries and continues for three months. The first of these was held in the summer of 1950 and was the first such project among Protestants. Others since, in several cities, have been planned on the Institute pattern. Students work for the summer in factories as ordinary laborers, incognito. The group is scattered through a variety of plants, from large to small, and in both union and nonunion shops.

In the evenings the group meets for lectures and discussions with industrialists, trade-unionists, social workers, professors, and ministers to analyze and interpret the industrial community and the effective ministry of the Church in such a community.

On Sundays the students—as workers—attend churches in industrial neighborhoods to observe strengths and weaknesses of our present ministry to men with whom they have been working all week.

In the summer of 1953 there were 43 men and 14 wives in the group.

For the first two summers this Ministers in Industry program was located in Pittsburgh, at Western and Pittsburgh-Zenia seminaries. Since then the project has been located at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.

**In the early years** the Institute was located in New York City. Labor

Temple, on New York's lower East Side, was used for classrooms, dormitory, and office space, and the staff of the Institute conducted the Labor Temple program as a laboratory for the Institute. The limitations of this arrangement and this location became increasingly apparent, and in 1950 the program was divided. Labor Temple continues to be operated as a separate program for the local community, and the Institute has become increasingly a national program.

In 1952 the Institute moved to Chicago, which is believed to be the ideal city for the various activities involved. It is located on the campus of McCormick Theological Seminary, which is in the heart of the second largest American city. The in-service seminars are now held here—with one such term each year on the West Coast. The summer Ministers in Industry project is held in Chicago. Courses are offered in the autumn term to students at McCormick. Courses formerly taught by the dean at Princeton and Biblical seminaries can no longer be provided by the Institute.

More and more the Institute is

drawn into research. There is need to dig deeper than the present tendency for churches to stumble along with modifications of traditional institutional patterns—modifications based on inspiration, opinion, and impressions.

The need also grows for developing advanced seminars for men who have participated in the basic course of training.

The response of industrialists, trade-unionists, and others outside the Church has been most encouraging. Ironically, this enthusiasm from outsiders exceeds the interest shown by most churchmen and points to the great opportunity before the churches. It is increasingly apparent that many men of management as well as union leaders have turned from the Church and have found other ways for expressing the idealism and zest for living that is within them—yet they would welcome the opportunity to participate in the Church. They want it to come home. They can be won again only when the fundamentals of our faith are made relevant to the struggles of souls in our contemporary industrial society.

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### Labor Sunday Message—1953

Copies of the Labor Sunday Message, pages 15 and 16 of this issue, may be ordered from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., at 5 cents a copy, \$2.25 per hundred. The folder also contains a helpful list of reading suggestions that will be useful in the preparation of a program for Labor Day Week.



# The Christian Doctrine of Man

*Excerpts from Chapter XIV, "A Theological Conception of Goals for Economic Life," by JOHN C. BENNETT, in Goals of Economic Life, edited by A. Dudley Ward. Harper & Brothers. Used by permission.*

THERE has been in recent years a marked revival of interest in the Christian doctrine of man, and the implications of this doctrine for economic life have been much discussed. There is no space here to outline the doctrine, but it is essential to emphasize two aspects of it. The first is the conviction that man is made in God's image, responsible to God, with unique dignity and possibilities derived from this relation to God. The second is that man universally and persistently tends to be sinful. This second conviction means that tendencies toward pride and self-centeredness are present on every level of human life. The religious root of these tendencies is man's failure to recognize his dependence upon God, and the social consequences of these tendencies are to be found in all varieties of injustice. The sinfulness of man's mind and spirit is shown most clearly in his tendency to defend imperialistic exploitation by means of theory and even by means of a distorted idealism. Pride and self-righteousness when they are identified with idealism and often with religious sanc-

tions greatly aggravate antisocial consequences of economic self-interest because they cause a conflict between social and economic systems to become an ideological and religious conflict with great increase of bitterness and intransigence.

In this Christian conception of the universality and persistence of sin, there are at least four implications for economic life:

## **1. Pressures of Individual and Group Self-interest**

There is, first, a warning against the ways in which judgments about economic issues are warped by self-interest or the narrow interest of a particular group. This does not mean that we must accept the idea of economic determinism, though those who are unaware of the extent to which economic factors do determine the opinions and loyalties of men are especially vulnerable to their influence. Also, this does not mean that the individual is always controlled, even so far as his judgments are influenced by such economic factors, by conscious and deliberate selfishness.

Within the Church it should be natural for people to become aware of their tendency to be influenced by the pressures of group interest. The peculiar illusions, the peculiar forms of self-righteousness, of each class should be made so apparent that they become a part of the confession of sin. Too often this does not happen, and instead religious symbols are used to support the illusions of a particular congregation. A deliberate effort of the Church to open itself to correction by its own gospel is imperative at this point.

## **2. Use of Power Without Responsibility**

Christian teaching warns against all irresponsible forms of power, whether they be political or economic. Economic power is often less obvious than political power, and it tends to be more irresponsible than political power under the conditions of political democracy. One reason for thinking that the modern criticism of paternalism by Christians is more than a reflection of modern culture is that it takes account of the truth in old ideas about sin which were strongly held in other periods by Christians who did not apply them realistically to themselves in their social relations. Today labor unions are still resisted by many Christians who should know from their Christian faith that they need to have their own power checked by the power of a union. Labor leaders

also should recognize that their power should rest on democratic foundations and should be subject to check by society as a whole. Abraham Lincoln, in this respect, was a sounder theologian than most of the more orthodox Christians of his time when he said, "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent."

## **3. Oversimplification of Problem of Incentive**

Christian teaching about man should also warn us against easy solutions of the problem of incentive. The consistent socialist has wrongly assumed that this problem would not exist in a socialized society in which all would be working for the common welfare. On the other hand, the capitalistic theorist has usually neglected the moral dangers in a society that puts its chief emphasis upon the motive of self-interest. He assumes too readily the innocence of self-interest because in a competitive society those who are seeking their own profit are supposed to be serving the common good. We have learned from bitter experience that the cultural support for unlimited acquisitiveness trains men in tendencies to which they are already inclined and causes them to develop institutions for the exploitation of the community in their own interests.

Christian teaching about human nature points toward economic insti-



tutions that make use of self-interest to get efficient work done. The best of us need prodding by the necessity of earning a living, for it is easy to let down and, even if we work, to neglect tasks that are uncongenial. Here is one basis for accepting private property as good for man, though any argument for private property as a source of incentive is an argument for its wide distribution. On the other hand, it is also important to avoid placing such great temptations before man's selfish desires that they warp character in ways that are antisocial.

#### **4. The Yearning for Panaceas**

The Christian view of human nature also constitutes a warning against panaceas and utopias. Both the doctrine of sin and the recognition of man's finiteness are involved here. We must avoid fatalistic or pessimistic doctrines that set definite limits to possible advance. Christian teaching should encourage us to seek solutions of our problems. But it is important to realize now that there are no over-all and no absolute solutions. Each solution will create new and often unexpected problems. Moreover, gains that are made do not remain secure. There is always the danger of their being corrupted. The more effective and more concentrated forms of power which go with many of our solutions create the possibility of more oppressive forms of tyranny than existed in earlier pe-

riods. Loyalty to the public interest and personal integrity are always necessary foundations for sound economic and political institutions, but these qualities are precarious. They do not grow easily and a community or a culture can lose them.

One of the chief points of conflict between Christianity and Communism is the Communist assumption that Communism has the key to absolute solutions of economic and social problems. The most fateful miscalculation of Communists is their conviction that, if only they push hard enough, and by whatever means are necessary, to establish their power and to destroy the capitalistic elements in society, they will achieve both justice and freedom. The idea that the totalitarian state created to accomplish this purpose will disappear seems to them to guarantee the freedom. How far the men in the Kremlin or the present Communist Party bosses in various countries really believe in the new freedom that is expected, according to the theory, to follow the withering away of the state may be open to question. But there is no doubt that multitudes of their followers are attracted to Communism by this promise and that they are helped to endure the tyranny because they are confident that it is a temporary expedient.

The Christian should be able to detect three illusions in this one aspect of the Communist faith: (1) the

illusion that any society will be as securely just and free as the one that they promise; (2) the illusion that this good society can be brought about by change in external institutions, because it is assumed that the capitalistic form of property is the root of all evil; (3) the illusion that the dread results of terror and tyranny can be wiped out if only the terror and the tyranny are successful in destroying the opposition.

So far in the discussion of the doctrine of man I have emphasized the implications of the Christian teaching about the universality and persistence of sin. There is another aspect of Christian teaching about man that may be even more important as we face the present conflict between social systems. It is the Christian conception of the person in relation to the community. Christian support cannot be claimed for either a consistent individualism or a consistent collectivism. The person is a member of several communities.

This membership is an essential part of his nature. He develops self-consciousness in social relations, and his purposes and loyalties are for the most part social. But no community owns him fully, for he is responsible to God, who transcends all.

I have stated as briefly as possible a view of the person which is implied in Christian faith. This view is incompatible with an atomistic individualism as an account of the nature of the person, and with any form of economic individualism that gives the pursuit of economic gain for the self primary place in the moral life. Responsibility to God and the sharing of God's concern for the welfare of the community should have that place. In so far as the conscience of a society is influenced by the Christian view of the person, it will preserve a strong sense of responsibility for the welfare of even its most objectionable members. The Church should go beyond secular society or the state in this redemptive concern.

## Economic Goals

*Excerpts from Chapter 2, "Economic Goals," of Social Responsibilities of the Businessman, by HOWARD R. BOWEN. Harper & Brothers. Used by permission.*

THE social responsibilities of businessmen have meaning only in relation to the goals or values that we seek from our economic system.

The doctrine of social responsibility rests upon the idea that business should be conducted with concern for the effects of business operations

upon the attainment of valued social goals. This suggests that the first step in our analysis is to consider the question, What are the goals toward which businessmen should orient themselves in so far as they are willing or able to consider the social consequences of their actions?

### **1. High Standard of Living.**

This is the goal that comes to mind immediately and that surely ranks high in the American scale of values. By a "high standard of living" is meant an abundance of goods and services available for consumption by the masses of the people and the substantial amounts of leisure which such abundance makes possible. The provision of a high standard of living requires, of course, a high rate of production. Therefore, this goal is often referred to as "high productivity" or "abundance."

### **2. Economic Progress.**

Not content with the presently attainable standard of living, we accept as one of our goals the steady advancement of that standard. This means that we place a high value upon technological progress leading to new methods of production and new products. We believe that it is desirable to increase our plant and equipment, and also to increase our nonmaterial capital in the form of education, training, and energy of our workers. And we hold that it is important to utilize our natural resources prudently so that progress will not be slowed down by lack of land and natural materials.

### **3. Economic Stability.**

Largely as a result of our experiences during the past thirty-five years of alternating inflation and widespread unemployment, we attach great importance to economic stability as a goal. To expect perfect stability in anything so dynamic as our economic system would be unreasonable, but we feel that it is important to temper fluctuations in economic activity.

### **4. Personal Security.**

Our concern about insecurity due to unemployment, sickness, accident, old age, and death has increased with the growth of these problems during the great depression of the '30's. In a more individualistic era, personal security was considered important, but it was assumed that each person (or his family) was responsible to provide for his contingencies. In recent years, we have moved toward a new concept. It is that some contingencies are beyond the control of the individual, and therefore provision for security against such contingencies is a matter for collective responsibility. What was once regarded as exclusively an individual or family problem has become largely a social problem.

### **5. Order.**

Order as a social goal is usually associated with the political system. It also has economic connotations. The attainment of order in economic life requires the regular flow of goods to the market, the systematic equalization of demand and supply in all markets, and the ab-



sence of violent strife in economic relationships.

**6. Justice.** Our concept of justice in economic affairs pertains to "equity" in the distribution of income and broad diffusion of opportunity for personal development and economic advancement. It includes provision of wide access to education, improvement of neighborhood and family environments, provision of public health services, sanctions against nepotism, and removal of restrictions based upon color, race, national origin, religion, sex, age, political opinion, physical appearance, or social status.

**7. Freedom.** In the economic sphere, freedom has many facets, just as it has in the political sphere. Moreover, for every freedom there is a corresponding responsibility. The freedom we hear most about is freedom of enterprise. This refers to the right of any individual (or group of individuals) to organize such land, labor, and capital as he owns or can command in the market, to manage the use of these resources in the production and distribution of goods and services, and to enjoy the resulting profit or suffer the resulting loss. Another freedom of cardinal importance is freedom of consumer choice. This is the right of any individual to buy whatever is for sale when he pleases, with any purchasing power at his command. Freedom of choice of occupation implies the right of each individual to decide what vo-

cation to follow, and to change his vocation or place of employment whenever he chooses. Freedom of organization refers to the right of individuals to band together for common purposes. We are familiar with such organizations in the form of corporations, labor unions, trade associations, farm organizations, and professional associations.

**8. Development of the Individual Person.** Most human beings spend a large portion of their waking hours in some form of economic activity. They function, during a large part of each day, as workers, as managers, as buyers and sellers, as consumers, and as investors. Moreover, a large part of all human relationships occurs in the workshop, the office, and the market place. This means that the substance and quality of human life are determined in large measure by the physical environment in which economic activity takes place, by the nature of the tasks which people choose or are called upon to undertake, by the quality of human relationships involved, and by the opportunities present for achieving the development and expression of the human personality. As Professor Clark has said: "The individual is so molded in body, mind, and character by his economic activities and relations, stimuli and disabilities, freedoms and servitudes, that industry can truly be said to make the men and women who work in it, no less truly than the

commodities it turns out for the market."

Too frequently we have assumed that economic activity relates solely to means rather than ends. The truth of the matter is that economic activity relates at the same time to both means and ends. It is a means to the goods and services we wish to enjoy, but is also an end in that it comprises so large an element of human time, of human interrelationship, and of personality expression. It is not only a means to human life and human ends but a large part of human life, and an end in itself.

When this is clearly understood, it becomes apparent that one of the important goals of economic life is to provide the kind of physical and social environment that will yield pleasure in work, satisfying human relations, and development of the human personality. This implies the importance of safe, healthful, and pleasant work places; mutual respect and consideration in the relationships of individuals as workers, employers, sellers, customers, competitors, investors, Government officials, etc.; and widespread opportunities for creative activity, craftsmanship, artistic and scientific achievement, inventiveness, administrative skill, participation in decisions, assumption of responsibility, cultural advancement, and social and recreational activities.

**9. Community Improvement.** Economic activity has a direct influ-

ence on the quality of the local community in which it occurs. A goal of economic life is to arrange the location of factories and shops, the disposal of smoke and waste, the appearance of buildings and grounds, the use of signs, etc., so that the living environment will be healthful and aesthetically satisfying. The possible role of industry in creating aesthetic values is a neglected aspect of political economy. A related goal is to achieve the kind of community organization, services, and facilities that will provide a wholesome and satisfying social environment for everyone involved.

**10. National Security.** In recent years the goal of national security, including the defense of liberal institutions, has become an important—even dominant—preoccupation of the American people. Economic activity is directly related to this goal because military power is based on the diversion of productive resources from civilian to military purposes.

**11. Personal Integrity.** A goal of economic life, which few would deny, is to maintain high standards of honor in all economic activities and transactions. This includes truthfulness in advertising and selling, observance of contract, fairness in relations with competitors, avoidance of questionable financial manipulation, compliance with taxation, and general adherence to the "rules of the game" both in letter and in spirit.

*Approved by the General Board of the  
National Council of Churches and issued through the  
Department of the Church and Economic Life.*

**"You Are All Brethren. . . You Have One Father"**

**T**HE health of any society depends upon the well-being of the members of all its groups. Every segment of society is important. Efficient and honest work is necessary for our economy. But our common responsibility does not end there. In a highly industrialized society, it is not a luxury but a Christian and practical necessity to help the sick and the crippled, assist the needy aged, and care for the young.

We believe that Christianity provides sound and sure principles as guides to action; it gives a sense of direction and creates a will to work together. The American people have common basic aims. As productive efficiency increases, there are more goods and services to share and costs of production are lowered. As workers' purchasing power expands, management finds larger markets. And we all, as consumers, benefit by this co-operation.

Furthermore, if equitable solutions to the common problems of employers and their employees are mutually sought in good faith, they can be found. Thousands of labor contracts are negotiated by union and management representatives each year without bitterness or strikes, and with regard for the public interest. Unfortunately these settlements are rarely featured in the newspapers, while strikes are headlined. Fair settlements arrived at through free and honest bargaining by men of good will opened the way to a better economic and social life for all people. Leaders of labor and management know that the progress of American industry depends largely upon their ability to co-operate for the common good. This is the road for free men of enlightened consciences to follow. Christianity may ask for more, but can ask for no less.

Since the first Labor Sunday Message was issued nearly forty years ago, the economic status of workers has been raised, productivity increased, hours shortened, real wages increased, working conditions improved, the economic well-being of the nation lifted, and the democratic way of life strengthened.

On this Labor Day it is fitting that the National Council of Churches recognize the many Christian laymen who have worked to achieve these



ssage, 1953

*To be read in the churches on Labor Day Sunday,  
September 6, 1953, or on September 13, 1953.*

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benefits for themselves and their fellow men. We join in mourning the loss of William Green and Philip Murray, outstanding Christian laymen in organized labor. Leadership in the labor movement should be increasingly appreciated by Church people as an important Christian vocation.

### **"Bear One Another's Burdens"**

We are grateful to God for the generally high level of well-being in the United States which has developed under conditions of freedom. But these favorable circumstances call for more than gratitude in word or feeling. They summon Christians to a deep sense of humility and an earnest commitment to share with people as worthy as ourselves who are less fortunate. Our present position in the world places upon us the responsibility to help less fortunate people to help themselves. We must give with an understanding heart; the extent of our help can be measured only by a sensitive Christian conscience.

Today powerful and insidious forces threaten freedom. Enlightened men and women of labor were among the first to see the evil and danger of both Fascism and Soviet Communism and have long and effectively opposed them. Through the leadership which the American labor movement, together with that of many other important segments of our society, has given to the cause of world freedom, all our freedoms have been made more secure.

In working for civil rights, increased production, job opportunities, adequate wages, social responsibility, and a free world community we are working for each other, for ourselves, and for God who seeks to realize his purpose of justice and freedom in the affairs of men. Toward the achievement of these aims, all groups in our nation are interdependent, and we are bound together in the need and purpose to promote our common freedoms. Freedom to worship and to speak according to the dictates of one's conscience is inseparable from freedom of the mind and freedom to work under conditions which the worker has had a part in determining. A threat to one freedom is a threat to all freedoms.

# Sanctuary

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## AMOS—FREEDOM'S APOSTLE

The fifth in a series condensed from worship services prepared by NORMAN F. LANGFORD for the Christian Education National Conference, Buck Hill Falls, March 7-12. Dr. Langford is Editor in Chief, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

### *V. Amos 7: 10, 11*

*"Then Amaziah the priest of Beth-el sent to Jeroboam king of Israel, saying, Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel: the land is not able to bear all his words. For thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land."*

I NEED hardly say that Amaziah was not the last person in history to confuse the free expression of thought with subversive activity. "Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel: the land is not able to bear all his words." Doubtless Amos had for some time been a thorn in the flesh of the authorities in Israel: he was altogether too free with his comments.

Quickly, Amaziah seizes upon one thing Amos said that might be interpreted as seditious, though it is characteristic of Amaziah and his many successors that he gave Amos' actual words a twist that made them more incriminating than they were. Amos predicted that God would "rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword"; and Amaziah found it convenient to improve upon the wording, reporting that Amos had prophesied that "Jeroboam shall die by the sword." It is a small change, but indicative of both the interest of Amaziah in the matter and his degree of integrity in getting at a critic.

"Amos hath conspired against thee." A conspiracy implies that two or more persons are in league to plot against someone else. It also implies an unlawful intention. Amaziah is a bit loose in his language here too; for whom Amos conspired *with* for his allegedly subversive purposes is not indicated.

Evidently one man openly speaking the truth seemed like a multitude lurking in ambush. Even so, Jesus spoke openly in the Temple, and they took him in the garden by night.

At all events, it is clear that it was Amos' words that hurt, and made him a candidate for removal: "The land is not able to bear all his words." He who sought to turn a nation from its folly, he who for no personal gain directed a people's attention to the seriousness of its situation before God, he who singlehanded tried to interpose his words between Israel and its doom—he by his very consecration to truth is branded as a conspirator, a subversive, a dangerous man, injurious to the body politic.

The words that call into question the course the nation is pursuing—and not, by the way, in wartime either—alarm the government more than the very real and tangible dangers of a hostile power beyond the borders. The authorities prefer browbeating and attempting to terrorize an individual who speaks his mind rather than coming to grips with the actual hazards of Israelite foreign policy.

AMOS was in no conspiracy. He had no secret weapons up his sleeve. And yet he had a very powerful weapon, as Amaziah acknowledged by hostility and slander. He had a weapon that made uneasy consciences more uneasy; a weapon that

drove unworthy men in authority to panic; a weapon that made those unfit to bear authority identify the prophet's attack on wickedness with an attack upon the public safety. He had the weapon of words; and, as so often happens, the counterattack came not in the form of argument but in the form of an attempt to suppress the speaker.

WE TOO work with words. Not with words alone, to be sure—and yet, whether in the formal utterances we speak, or in the materials we publish, or in private conversation, we are continually endeavoring to set forth and defend the Christian faith in words without number. Let us not underestimate the potency of language; the enemies of free speech do not underestimate it. Words to them are the equivalent of deeds—and up to a point they are. The things I have to say as a Christian in this troubled time are a contribution for good or ill to history. Small talk aside, I am not, as a Christian, engaged merely in bandying opinions. I am writing something into history by the kind of views I uphold, by the judgments I express, by the influence I exercise. Not to be terrorized, not to be intimidated into silence or neutrality in issues of importance, not to be persuaded that discretion is always the better part of valor—that alone is a contribution I am in a position to make if I am equal to the challenge.



WE ALSO have everything to lose by the words we speak. These are times in which walls seem to have ears, and what the walls pick up is twisted into extraordinary interpretations. Now that the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities has extended his investigation to include the Church, a course of action politically hazardous to himself, he may possibly find some means to bring a good many of us into jeopardy. This, however, seems an irrelevant reason for abstaining from the freedom of utterance that has persuaded a politician that the Church, being critical of terrorism, must be harboring Communists.

I doubt that the investigator will find many Communists in the Church; but he will find words there, words even more distasteful than those that have already aroused his antagonism. We have long been fighting with words, and it is not on record that the Church's moral strength has ever been in proportion to its silence and docile behavior. We have no way to convey truth without words; no way to preach God's Word

save by the words we are willing to take the responsibility for uttering. Reticence is no virtue in a time like this, and caution will defeat its own purposes. We have nothing to flee from save the craven fears that original sin planted within us, and which ruthless men have recently inflamed.

The Church will stand or fall, not by external pressures brought against it, but by internal yielding to pressure—a yielding that is both unnecessary and prohibited. We are in the Church to speak what we believe, not to be told by others what it is permissible to say.

In this kind of crisis there is no battle front so dangerous that the Christian is excused from making his presence felt; and it is his speech that will indicate whether he is a nonentity, or really there. The saying of Jesus holds, even now: "By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." And the Judge who in the last reckoning appraises our work does not judge as men do: being himself the Chief of those who have ever spoken truth, despising the consequences.

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### Phoenix Has the Pattern

A recent report from Phoenix, Arizona, indicates that racial segregation has ended—at least in their high schools. The school board, with two of five members refusing to vote, completely wiped out racial segregation on the high school level.

Many districts in the state still practice segregation on the elementary level. It is a matter that must be decided by the local school boards. This "permissive segregation" law is now being challenged constitutionally before the Arizona Supreme Court.

# Christian ACTION

## PROGRAM AIDS—LABOR DAY WEEK

Ours is an interdependent world. The health and well-being of individuals and the progress of states and nations require an intermeshing of the jobs, skills, and services of all who are gainfully employed.

It is to be earnestly hoped that many churches will give special recognition to the responsibilities of Christians for economic justice and fair industrial relations on Labor Day Sunday. However, these program suggestions are not limited to the first Sunday in September. They are equally pertinent for other periods in the program year.

1. **Invite laymen representing labor and management** to participate in conducting the Sunday morning worship. Each layman may make a statement summarizing the responsibilities of workers and employees under the sovereignty of God.

2. **Present in the morning worship** a Labor Day litany which a committee of workers and employers may prepare from such spiritual resources as the Scriptures, *The Book of Common Worship*, the Labor Day Message of the National Council of Churches (see pages 16

and 17). This litany may be printed or mimeographed in the regular church calendar or bulletin. Its theme may deal with the independence of the economic groups of mankind, and the particular dependence of American citizens upon the labors of farmers, miners, textile workers, and service tradesmen for the goods and services that make their lives comfortable and secure.

3. **Invite representatives** from the principal unions in the community to attend Sunday morning worship or the vesper service. Publicly welcome them from the pulpit and in a fellowship hour after church.

4. **Launch an occupational study** of the membership of your church. Be sure to note that a mother is a housewife with her own specialization in the management of the home and the purchase of clothing and food. Children and young people are occupied with their studies at school. The study should point up the occupations not represented in the congregations and include plans for making the fellowship of the church more broadly inclusive. Within the fellowship of the Christian church, people of many diverse social and

economic groups should unite for worship, study, service, and social witness for Christ in the community.

5. *Plan a series of vocational seminars* for the adults of the church, patterned after the North American Lay Conference in Buffalo, New York, and stressing the implications of the gospel of Christ to Christians in their daily work.

6. *Work with other churches* and with public libraries in planning special book displays interpreting the contributions of labor to American life, the problems and goals of workers today. Arrange an interesting pamphlet display in the narthex of the church for the Sunday mornings in September.

7. *Initiate a series of meetings* that will bring civic, business, and labor leaders in the community together for fellowship and for interchange and discussion of problems and common concerns. Such conferences are especially significant in small communities where farm and industrial groups may meet, or in changing communities where new groups may be moving in. The example that John Calvin set for churches in the reformed faith in

sixteenth century Geneva should be studied and discussed.

8. *Work with clergymen of other faiths* in developing a training program for ministers in industrial relations, and informal fellowship with leaders in labor and management.

9. *Sponsor a radio panel* on Christian industrial relations in which business, industrial, and labor leaders take part, with a clergyman serving as moderator.

10. *Plan a series of reviews* of the new study series on Christian ethics and economics that is being produced in co-operation with a Study Committee of the National Council of Churches and published by Harper & Brothers. (See page 4.)

11. *Do a radio symposium* on the first volume of the series on Christian ethics and economics, with persons in your community representing the approaches to economic affairs presented in the book.

12. *Plan a vocational institute* for the older teen-agers of the church on "Choosing Your Vocation." Invite community leaders and vocational counselors to participate.

—Margaret E. Kuhn

## LEGISLATIVE SEMINAR IN OREGON

Oregon is the first state intimately to relate evangelism and social action and to follow the close of the New Life School of Christian Living with a Legislative Seminar.

The School of Christian Living for the Northwest was held this year in Salem, Oregon, February 10 to 12. Synod's Committee on Social Education and Action, with the co-



operation of the Committee on Evangelism, conducted Oregon's first Church-Legislative Seminar. Selected members of the New Life Conference were invited to remain for a full day, meeting with representatives of the state legislature in session at that time in Salem. The ministers chosen to participate in the Legislative Seminar were selected on the basis of geographical representation so that the thirty members of the seminar well represented the entire state of Oregon.

The New Life School closed Thursday noon. The seminar opened with a banquet in the First Presbyterian Church that night. Senator Philip S. Hitchcock, of Klamath Falls, Oregon, Presbyterian elder and former moderator of the Synod of Oregon and now a member of the Executive Council of the National Council of Presbyterian Men, gave important leadership to the seminar. Senator Hitchcock has for several years been chairman of the Social Education and Action Committee of the Synod of Oregon. He presided over the opening conference.

The Thursday evening session was given to an introduction to the Christian responsibility in world affairs. The opening address was presented by Dr. Karlin Capper-Johnson, professor of history and international relations at Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon. Charles A. Sprague, a member of the Salem church and a member of the 1952

United States delegation to the United Nations, brought the second address. A forum period on world problems and proposed solutions in the light of the Christian faith concluded the evening.

The Friday sessions opened with a breakfast conference at the church, with Rev. David Ferguson, of Pratum, Oregon, presiding. This meeting considered the moral issues faced by the legislature, including the new liquor-by-the-glass bill, the issue of radio and TV advertising designed to permit liquor advertising at all hours, the pari-mutuel revenues on horse and dog racing, and bills on our penal institutions and civil rights. Leaders of the legislature were most generous in appearing before the conference group. They included Representative Robert L. Elfstrom, an elder of the First Presbyterian Church in Salem; Senator Philip S. Hitchcock, who introduced the bill on civil rights; Rev. Dudley Strain, chairman of the Social Action Committee of the Oregon Council of Churches; and George Woodworth, attorney for the state liquor control commission.

After the morning conference the seminar members visited the Senate and the House of Representatives and lunched at the Capitol, seminar members visiting with their own Representatives and Senators.

The afternoon session was devoted to a consideration of "Christian Solution and Strategy." The pastor of

the First Presbyterian Church in Salem presided, and the session was given direction by a panel of five members of the legislature. The legislative panel led the seminar in an examination of what Christian citizens can do in their home community.

The seminar was concluded with an evaluation by the seminar members of the conference, who expressed themselves with considerable

enthusiasm as to its importance. They voted to recommend to the Oregon Council of Churches that another seminar be held next year by that body including representatives from all the churches.

—Paul Newton Poling, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Salem, Oregon; Chairman, Committee on Social Education and Action, Willamette Presbytery.

## CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS FROM SYNOD OF NEW YORK

The Committee on Social Education and Action of the Synod of New York recently held a Christian education seminar. The statement of purpose adopted by the seminar reads in part as follows: "As individuals and as a group Christians are responsible for adjusting their thought and behavior to those principles of righteousness which God has revealed in Holy Scripture. If Presbyterians are loyal to their religious inheritance, they will earnestly assert the relevance of the Christian faith to social relations. They must seek to know and to do the will of God in the concrete situations of everyday life. They must look to the church for inspiration, guidance, and support in this endeavor."

The seminar chose as their theme "World Order and International Affairs," and suggested a number of methods and projects for use in im-

plementing SEA in this area. It will be noticed, however, that many of the ideas can be applied to the other areas of social education and action. Perhaps other SEA committees will find these suggestions useful:

### *For Local Churches*

1. Formation of local SEA committee by session (with elected officers).
2. Use of pulpit and church publications to stimulate action.
3. Field trips (to UN, migrant camps, slum areas, etc.).
4. Church library to include SEA literature, films, etc.
5. Family nights on SEA theme (costumes, recipes, etc.).
6. Home discussion groups or circle gatherings.
7. Study groups in church (*God and the Nations*).
8. Prompt letter writing to Congressmen.

9. Co-operation with other denominational committees and community groups.

10. Inform congregation of General Assembly pronouncements.

### ***For Presbyteries***

1. Presbytery SEA committee to include presbyterial and youth SEA secretaries and maintain relationship with Christian education committees.

2. Workshops to train local leaders.

3. SEA committee to visit local churches and disseminate information.

4. Occasional joint presbytery and presbyterial communications to local churches.

5. Lists of resource people and material for local church use.

6. Book club or round robin.

7. Each presbytery to adopt one action project annually.

8. Presbytery-wide SEA rallies.

9. Work with groups outside the church (League of Women Voters).

10. Careful selection of presbytery SEA chairman.

11. Presbytery pool of literature, films, etc.

12. Chairman's file on local church SEA members.

### ***Synod Level***

1. Synod SEA leaders to work closely with synod's committee.

2. Transmit to presbyteries information on legislative issues and alert for action.

3. Emphasize leadership training schools.

4. Use leaders who have been to SEA schools.

5. Women represented on SEA synod committee.

6. "Action" project (home for aged, delinquent children, etc.).

7. Urge more time on synod's docket.

8. Regional meetings or area workshops using SEA personnel.

9. Instruct presbyteries in local church SEA methods.

10. Co-operate with state council of churches' SEA committee.

### ***National Level***

1. Expand Washington office.

2. Continue to stir the conscience of the Church according to General Assembly's understanding of it.

3. Distribute General Assembly reports widely (print more).

4. "Hot" issues given greater publicity—mimeographed alert to synod and presbytery chairmen.

5. General Assembly to concentrate on two areas each year instead of all six.

6. Ferret out facts and inform the churches.

7. Greater promotion of such projects as Churchmen's Washington Seminar.

8. Workshops for synod SEA leaders.

—*Reported by Rev. Paul Parks Walenta, First Presbyterian Church, New Hartford, New York.*



## UN NEWS NOTES

**Health for the World's Children**—That is what the UN is working toward most of the time.

Two thirds of the world's children are suffering from hunger, and work is being done to find substitutes for milk in nondairy countries. Fish flour, rich in protein, calcium, and vitamins, and the soybean have proved valuable. FAO has set up a project to extract and dry soybean "milk" in Indonesia. UNICEF is planning a plant in Jogjakarta.

In the State of Orissa in India, the town of Sundagarh held a Health and Baby Week when hundreds of tots were lined up for judges' approval. Every winner turned out to be a drinker of UNICEF powdered milk which had been supplied at one of the seven hundred Child Health Centers receiving milk and fish oil capsules from the UN.

In fifteen countries in Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Latin America, help has been given to enable local places to set up dairy plants for bottling, pasteurizing, and drying. These countries want to build a healthier generation of children.

At Halloween, children in the U.S.A. will again enter into the "Trick or Treat" project, collecting coins for the world's children.

The Greeting Card project will again extend knowledge of the children around the world and furnish money to help to carry out the pro-

gram of UNICEF. Order from U.S. Committee for UNICEF, United Nations, N. Y. \$1.00 for box of ten cards.

**Trusteeship**—The UN has instilled a new sense of responsibility for the welfare of dependent peoples. The Council has used a variety of methods—visits have been made to each of the eleven trust territories to learn conditions, to confer with people; missions have been sent to help with special problems such as constitutional reforms; petitions have been heard and weighed, often presented by native leaders; colonial powers have accelerated the development of local government. A survey is being made of laws and practices concerning the use of land, and educational opportunities in all trust areas.

**Cost**—Do Christian citizens want our share of the cost of the UN reduced?

Last year Congress appropriated \$97,600,000 for the UN—amounting to 62 cents per person. Last year, Americans spent the following for:

Liquor	\$8,300,000,000
Television sets	2,149,000,000
Jewelry	1,328,000,000
Toilet goods	1,200,000,000

Every churchman can help to build Christian opinion in support of the United Nations by interpreting these comparative costs.

—*Mabel Head, UN Observer*

**SOCIAL PROGRESS**

## ★ *Citizenship* ★

✕ With a modest record of achievement the first session of the 83d Congress has come to an end. In the words of President Eisenhower, "the Congress has been confronted with many grave problems in both the domestic and foreign fields, and I believe that its record will be recognized as one that advances the nation substantially toward the goals sought by our people." In another reference he said that progress has been made but not as much as he had hoped.

*Look* magazine termed the work of this session "the quiet arresting of a twenty-year trend."

From the standpoint of the national budget some \$13 billion was pared from the Truman requests and some \$3½ billion from the revised Eisenhower estimates.

Feeling its way and endeavoring to evolve acceptable policies, the Administration seems to have made a fair showing in the legislative field this first session, but it left many issues to be decided next year.

It will face an especially heavy burden in the second session when many controversial matters will be up for consideration. Among these will be: revision of the Taft-Hartley law, social security extensions, statehood for Hawaii and possibly Alaska, revision of the tax laws and modification of the McCarran immi-

gration law. In addition, various programs extended for one year this session, pending further study, will face decisions. Because it will be an election year problems and policies will be further complicated.

There is a slight possibility of a special session this fall, but it is hoped that this can be avoided.

The Administration has suffered a devastating blow in the death of Senator Taft. In the words of Doris Fleeson: "Time will develop dramatically the great loss Senator Taft is to his party and to the Congress. Only he had the prestige to hold the factions together which find themselves now possessed of power but lacking a common purpose and philosophy."

**Foreign Aid**—The mutual security program was extended but on a reduced scale and under a new name, Foreign Operations Administration. The figure finally appropriated was \$6.5 billion, \$4.5 being in new money.

Point Four funds were cut from \$140 million requested by President Eisenhower to \$118 million, with Asia and the Pacific area receiving the largest amount.

Other actions of the Congress in the field of foreign assistance were the grant of one million tons of wheat for Pakistan, an authorization to the President to distribute \$100 million

of surplus farm commodities as relief to friendly countries, and \$200 million for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea.

**UN International Children's Emergency Fund**—The full amount of \$9,814,000 requested for this fund for 1953 was finally appropriated in the closing days of the session. However, the item was cancelled in the 1954 appropriation. Since permanent status for this agency has been recommended by the recent action of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva, it is hoped that the matter may come up for reconsideration early in the next session. It is felt that Administration support plus active interest on the part of the churches and other groups made possible the final inclusion of this amount for 1953.

**Reciprocal Trade**—This program was renewed for one year, and a special commission was created to study our foreign economic policy. A bill providing for the simplification of some customs procedures was also passed, and the President's authority to control exports was extended to June, 1954.

**Immigration**—A bill providing for the entrance of 214,000 immigrants over the period of the next three years, in addition to regular quotas, was passed after strong opposition in both Houses. President Eisenhower had requested the admission of 240,000 over a period of two years.

The purpose of this so-called emer-

gency legislation is to provide asylum for those fleeing the Iron Curtain countries, orphans, and certain special categories. Two thousand Chinese refugees will be admitted if their passports are endorsed by the Chinese Nationalist Government.

**Housing**—A bill limiting Federal public housing construction for the whole nation to 20,000 units, as compared with 35,000 units authorized last year and requested by President Eisenhower, was cleared by both Houses late in July.

The chief provisions of the National Housing Act were extended with some revisions, and the Federal Housing Administration's authority to insure housing loans was increased. The Public Housing administrator was directed by Congress to report on the whole question of public housing by next February 1, as a basis for deciding the future of the public housing program.

**Federal Aid to Education**—In a compromise move in the final hours before adjournment, the Congress authorized \$127 million dollars for school construction aid in defense-crowded areas and also provided for aid in the operation and maintenance of such schools.

**Universal Military Training**—Late in July, President Eisenhower ordered a new study to determine whether a universal military training program is feasible and desirable. He asked the National Security Training Commission to report to him on the matter not later than De-



cember 1 of this year. The five members of this Commission are men long known as advocates of such a program.

**Disarmament**—By a voice vote the Senate approved a resolution stating that it is the purpose of the United States to seek durable peace and world disarmament. The resolution asks that the President call the action to the attention of "the heads of state and the nations of the world with the request that their people be informed of its contents." It further declares "that it continues to be the declared purpose of the United States to seek by all peaceful means the conditions for durable peace, and concurrently with progress in this respect to seek, within the United Nations, agreements by all nations for the enforceable limitation of armament." Senator Alexander Smith (R., N.J.) said that on the heels of the signing of the Korean truce the resolution was a "special symbolism." "We make it clear that while we take up the sword to defend freedom, we will lay it down as soon as conditions exist in which freedom can live."

**Capitol Prayer Room**—The House Administration Committee has approved a resolution directing the Capitol custodian to equip, as a place for meditation, a small room just off of the Capitol rotunda, halfway between the House and Senate chambers. The resolution was sponsored by Rep. Brooks Hays (D., Ark.) who said there will be no altars

and no organized services, but it will be suitably equipped as a place for meditation and prayer.

**Foreign Relations Committee Vacancies**—Due to the deaths of Senator Taft and Senator Tobey there are two vacancies to be filled on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On the basis of seniority, and availability due to committee chairmanships, it seems likely, as we go to press, that the places will be filled by Senator Capehart (R., Ind.) and Senator Aiken (R., Vt.). The former is a consistent critic of foreign aid programs, while Senator Aiken has generally supported them. Should Senator Aiken decide against accepting this appointment, it would probably go to Senator Flanders (R., Vt.), who has expressed an interest in it.

**Juvenile Delinquency**—A sweeping investigation of juvenile delinquency throughout the country has been ordered by the Senate. A judiciary subcommittee, headed by Senator Hendrickson (R., N. J.), will make the study. Citing the serious increase in delinquency throughout the country and the increase by 60½% per cent of "juvenile delinquent acts" in Washington alone, in the past year, the committee said that "while it is important to protect the public from the confirmed criminal, it is even more important to prevent the juvenile delinquent of today from becoming the confirmed criminal of tomorrow."

—Helen Lineweaver

# About Books

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**Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor**, by Matthew Josephson. Doubleday & Company, Inc. \$5.00.

The story of Sidney Hillman is the story of the long and bitter struggle of American labor for true social democracy. As such it merits a wide circle of readers. No one who has lived through the last thirty to fifty years can help being aware of the growing significance of labor as a factor in the whole social and political scene, and this biography takes one behind the scenes and into the heart of the movement.

Too much of our information about labor has come from the public press, which, of course, can report only what happens on the surface level. This account, going into the mind and intention of labor's leaders, makes clear just what labor's aspirations are. The overconservative will find his worst fears justified, for there is an open avowal of Fabian socialism. The radical will find himself impatient with the moderate and realistic approach which Hillman invariably adopted. The book is a good corrective to the surface approach and will do much to provide understanding of labor's direction.

Not least interesting to the reader will be the parade of familiar names: Judge Brandeis, Samuel Compers, William Thompson, Fiorello La Guardia, Newton D. Baker, Felix Frankfurter, Philip Murray, John L. Lewis, Leon Henderson, and Harry Hopkins. Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman are here too.

The book is monumental. It is the sort of thing that should be read by any astute person who wants to understand his day.



**Man, Money and Goods**, by John S. Gambs. Columbia University Press. \$3.75.

Dr. John S. Gambs, professor of economics at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, has given us a book "for those who flunked" economics as well as for those who never took a course in it. He declares in his preface that he wanted to write a book for mature, earnest, intelligent folk with real interest in economic theory, but who had never quite made contact with it.

He has admirably succeeded in making economics an exciting subject. His style is light and finds inspiration in the popularizing genius

of Thomas Huxley. It is lucid and lively reading.

After a brief introduction, in which the author sets forth his definitions, the reader is led through varying economic theories. This, according to the author, is a survey of thought concerning the "cement, spit, or gravitational force" which keeps the economic universe together.

There follows a section dealing with special problems, such as business cycles, money, banking, taxes, international affairs, and the like.

It is difficult to evaluate such a book. One can only say of it that it succeeds in its purpose of making economics understandable for the average person; and that it should enable the mature reader to go farther into the field, with some hope of recognizing the biases and prejudices of varied theorists.

—Paul C. McFarlin

**Economics for You and Me**, by Arthur Upgren and Stahrl Edmunds. The Macmillan Company. \$4.00.

This book treats a complicated subject in a manner designed to make it clear to the uninformed. In an apparently light and humorous vein, with an abundance of homely illustrations these experts in the field offer "good, rough, usable economics." Producers and consumers are explained in terms of the game of "put-and-take." Meeting the demand

for new housing is "Raising the Roof." The ups and downs of our economy are likened to a roller coaster or to a man taking a bath. All these familiar illustrations are aimed at telling why "the economy ticks" when it does and why it fails to tick when things go wrong. On the whole one gets an encouraging picture of America's attempt to plan its economy. The chapters on money, "a necessary evil" but "man's greatest invention," and the ones on the national debt put both of these subjects in understandable terms. The causes of busts and booms are set forth, why prices go up, where your money goes, and what of the future. The book is for the general reader the kind of business analysis Roger Babson used to offer businessmen.

—John C. White

**Civic Victories**, by Richard S. Childs. Harper & Brothers. \$3.50.

*Civic Victories*, the story of an unfinished revolution in political reform, is the fascinating account of how American citizens are restoring true democracy in government. One senses that the battle is being waged most successfully at the level of municipal government, where the council-manager form is becoming the accepted pattern. The story of this development is, in itself, sufficient reason for reading the book. However, there are significant victories being won on other levels—in county and state government, in



school boards, and in private organizations.

Childs suggests three basic rules, the observance of which will make for more truly representative and responsive government: (1) Elective offices must be visible, which is to say that there must be only a few choices to be made at one time—the principle of short ballot; that the offices must be of enough importance to attract scrutiny. (2) The constituency must be wieldy in size. (3) The governments must be well integrated.

The secret of getting representative and responsive government is to place adequate power in the hands of a small number of people, making them actually responsible for government. This avoids the division of authority which makes for a multiplicity of governments within one unit. This may, at first glance, seem to lead away from democracy by removing from elective status many public servants, but further analysis proves that centralizing responsibility actually means that the responsibility can be traced without delay.

—Paul C. McFarlin

**Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions.** Harper & Brothers. \$2.75.

*Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions* is a book filled with fundamentals. From the experience of eighteen

years with over one hundred thousand persons a cofounder of Alcoholics Anonymous sets forth convictions and practices that are radical in the sense that they have deep roots. The Twelve Steps, of course, are the ones found necessary for members of AA. Such themes as faith, dependence, prayer, self-evaluation, submission, renewal of personality, humility, the power of sin, and God's power of salvation are dealt with realistically. There is something basic as each is treated. Why is it a person untrained in theological thinking, probably, can set forth so surely the Way? Beyond any doubt it is this fact: the sole purpose of AA is the saving of souls. Since salvation is the goal reached, since the true Way is found, the account concurs with His teachings, who is the Way. For example: "The more we become willing to depend upon a higher Power, the more independent we actually are." This is saying in other words what Jesus set forth about losing life to find it.

In the Twelve Traditions can be found truths essential for community life. Here the issues of individualism versus group authority, the responsibility of persons and of groups, leadership, intergroup relations are presented in a way that is helpful to all church members and their leaders.

—John C. White

## FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

### Policy for Peace

**A**MERICAN foreign policy for several years has been dominated by the desire to "contain" Russia. This policy, essentially negative in character, has seemed to be dictated by the threats and the fears of the times. Even such positive programs as the Marshall Plan and Point Four we have managed to turn to the purposes of containment. The policy has led to some strange and uncomfortable alliances, and has put a strain on our relations with formerly bosom friends. There is growing evidence of wide discouragement with the policy of containment.

Now seems to be the time for our Government to assert a foreign policy that emphasizes the positive approaches to peace and world understanding. It is necessary to keep constantly in mind the menace of Communism. The tensions of the cold war continue, but there is more to foreign relations than the cold war. There are things that we should be doing for world order and peace regardless of Russia. To be sure, these things are, for the most part, already on the agenda of American foreign policy, but the emphasis has been elsewhere.

A careful examination of General Assembly pronouncements in the field of world order over the last several years suggests some of the necessary ingredients of a policy for peace. Let us look quickly at five of them.

**1. *The United Nations should continue to be a major cornerstone of American foreign policy.*** We are tempted often to stress the halting progress of the UN, but it is more realistic, as the last General Assembly said, to marvel that the UN has progressed and achieved at all in this kind of world. The United States should encourage and give every reasonable support to UN agencies such as those working in the fields of human rights, cultural advancement, universal disarmament, health, trade, and agriculture. As we approach 1955, the year when there may be an international conference for the purpose of revising the UN Charter, we should, as the last General Assembly said, consider the peril that lies in the



direction of weakening or abandoning organized, international co-operation and the promise for peace that lies in the direction of a stronger and more responsible United Nations.

2. *There is deep human understanding and sound economic logic back of the current slogan "Trade—Not Aid."* This is an area where Government and private enterprise can combine their strategies and efforts to provide tremendous encouragement and lift to the producing nations of the world as well as to the underdeveloped regions. It is inspiring to see the way this slogan has been affirmed recently by some of the great business and industrial groups of the nation that formerly favored high tariffs and drastic limiting of import trade.

3. *The program of technical assistance is one of the great ideas of the twentieth century.* The last General Assembly encouraged the continuation and extension of this program to underdeveloped regions. It encouraged the close co-ordination of American efforts in this field with similar efforts carried on by the United Nations.

4. *America's historic role in international affairs has been that of befriending democratic movements* in other lands and giving wise encouragement to the growth of freedom. The exigencies of the postwar world have caused our Government to seem to discard this historic role. We have appeared to condone colonialism and imperialism and we have backed up reactionary Governments to the vast consternation of democratic movements around the world. A positive approach to peace would seem to require a quick and a complete return to the policy of encouraging the growth of freedom and democracy. This policy would be heralded, for the most part, not by world-shaking denunciations of reactionary elements, but by little acts of friendship and kindness and understanding toward peoples around the world who are bound with us in the common cause of democracy.

5. *It is very important for all of us to see that we cannot make a sharp distinction between domestic policy and foreign policy.* As Mrs. Dean points out in her splendid book, *Foreign Policy Without Fear*, they are two sides of the same coin. Nearly everything we stand for and do in our own communities has some kind of world-wide reverberation. We need to be terribly sensitive to the impressions we give around the world by our behavior at home. Every item of foreign policy needs to be backed up by domestic practice.



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## World Order Study Conference

THE event of the month for the churches is the World Order Study Conference to be held in Cleveland on October 27-30. The conference has been called by the National Council of Churches, and is sponsored specifically by the Department of International Justice and Goodwill. The conference will be set up on a delegated basis with representation from the constituent denominations of the National Council and from state and city councils of churches. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. will be represented by thirty delegates who have been named by the Permanent Commission on Interchurch Relations and approved by the General Assembly.

The call of this important conference appears on page 16 of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. The Cleveland conference comes at a most strategic time. The end of the hot war in Korea, new uncertainties as well as new fears concerning Russia, the hint of a new orientation in American foreign policy under the Eisenhower-Dulles Administration, the probability of a 1955 conference for the revision of the UN Charter—these are some of the factors that underline the timeliness and the importance of the conference.

## Our Forty-fourth Year

IF YOU read the masthead of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, you will observe that we have entered our forty-fourth year of publication. This does not mean that our magazine has appeared under *this title* for all these years. Indeed, this is the third or fourth name that has been used in designating our publication.

The magazine began as *The Amethyst*. It appeared monthly under this title until June, 1920. In September, 1920, the publication became *Moral Welfare*, which appeared continuously until October, 1934. In November, 1934, *Social Progress* made its appearance. The magazine has been issued under this title continuously, except in 1938, when it was changed temporarily in title and format to become the magazine *Pageant*.

The writer of this editorial has before him a copy of the first issue of *The Amethyst*, which appeared in September, 1908, as the official temperance organ of the Presbyterian Church. The editor was Dr. T. L. Cuyler, who was the Executive Secretary of the Presbyterian Temperance Committee headquartered in Pittsburgh. The title of the magazine is interesting. According to legend, the amethyst was the touchstone of sobriety. It was worn

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in ancient times as an antidote or as an amulet which would secure immunity from drunkenness.

In the early days, of course, the emphasis was almost entirely on temperance. It was not until 1920 that our publication began to deal with the wider aspects of social concern.

## Preview

THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS carries articles and features in which world order and foreign policy are emphasized. It may be used in connection with *Crossroads* for October-December, 1953, which carries material in the program section on the United Nations and human rights.

The first article has to do with the controversy over the Bricker proposal to amend the Constitution in such a way as to greatly alter and restrict the treaty-making power of the Government. This matter has far-reaching implications in foreign policy. The article is written by Mrs. Allen Mitchell, of Bloomington, Indiana, Director of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Foundation. She was formerly a national board member of the League of Women Voters in charge of international relations. It is also important to mention that she is the SEA chairman of the First Presbyterian Church of Bloomington. This article is objective and reflects a point of view that is in agreement with the present Federal Administration, and is in keeping with the thinking of most churchmen.

Another important article is the one by Gerald F. Winfield, onetime Presbyterian missionary, who has been in charge of Point Four operation in Rangoon, Burma, as Information Officer and Acting Deputy Chief of Mission. Here is a factual close-up of how this tremendously significant program actually works in a foreign land.

Another article has to do with the important issues of trade and aid. The writer is Beatrice Pitney Lamb, former editor of the *United Nations News*. The article consists of pertinent excerpts from a recent Public Affairs pamphlet. Here is a lucid exposition of what is for many of us a very complicated subject about which we ought to be much better informed.

In "Sanctuary" we carry the last of the six splendid presentations by Dr. Norman Langford, Editor in Chief of the Faith and Life curriculum. These expositions of The Book of Amos have been tremendously helpful. I say again that Dr. Langford writes like a prophet about a prophet.

—Clifford Earle

# The Bricker Controversy: Is an Amendment Necessary?

By GEORGIANNA FALES MITCHELL, *Director, Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Foundation.*

THE Bricker proposal to amend the Constitution to limit the treaty-making power is one of the gravest issues facing the Congress and the nation. Such an amendment would affect our constitutional system of checks and balances as well as our ability to conduct a foreign policy based on strengthening the free world and the United Nations.

It is an American failing that our first reaction to a baffling problem is to try to cope with it by passing a law. The thousands of bills which obliging representatives introduce annually into our legislatures are evidence in our unwavering faith in legislation to set problems straight. Periodically we go even farther than trying to pass a mere law and grasp for solutions to national problems by amending the Constitution. With war and peace hanging in the balance, we are in the midst of a debate over such an amendment. It is now proposed to restrict the constitutional powers of the President over foreign affairs and to limit the treaty-making power of the Federal Government.

The movement for an amendment is led by Senator Bricker of Ohio.

Sixty-three Senators of both parties and with a wide range of political thought are cosponsors of his resolution. Much of the leadership for an amendment comes from lawyers. The American Bar Association drew up its own version of an amendment to limit the treaty-making power. The amendment that was reported favorably this June by the Senate Judiciary Committee follows the Bar Association's proposal closely. However, legal opinion is divided on the issue, with distinguished names on both sides. Popular support for an amendment has come from a number of patriotic societies.

The Eisenhower Administration is leading the opposition to the Bricker Amendment and is supported by authorities on international and constitutional law as well as by a number of organizations and individuals active in promoting international cooperation. The Administration is supporting a new version of an amendment which Senator Knowland will introduce at the next session of Congress as a substitute for the Bricker Amendment. Amending the U.S. Constitution is a drastic and time-consuming action not to be



undertaken lightly, so it is timely to examine the proposals and weigh the effect of limiting the Federal Government's treaty-making power on the ability of the U.S. to organize the world for peace.

**The over-all aim of the Bricker Amendment** is to protect the United States against possible delegations of sovereignty to international agencies as well as to protect the constitutional rights of the states and of individuals against what some people fear might be the encroachment of these rights by such treaties as the United Nations Charter or the proposed Covenants on Human Rights.

It has four main provisions: (1) to make it clear that treaties must be constitutional; (2) to limit the power of the Federal Government in making treaties and other international agreements to the same power that it has in making domestic laws; (3) to limit the President's use of executive agreements; (4) to prevent all treaties and executive agreements from being enforceable as internal law without further legislation.

The proposal that an amendment state that treaties cannot conflict with the Constitution is only mildly controversial. Both the Bricker and Knowland proposals contain such a provision.

The heart of the controversy concerns the extent of the powers which the Federal Government should have

over international affairs. Should these powers be broad or limited? The Constitution gives the Federal Government wide powers and clear control over foreign affairs. The states are forbidden to carry on any relations with foreign nations.

Treaties have equal status with Federal laws, which means that they are self-executing and become law, binding on the states, after the Senate consents to them, without Congress passing any further legislation to carry them out.

The Bricker group believe that these powers are too broad for the present day. They believe that treaties are being used by the Federal Government to encroach on powers reserved to the states in the Constitution. They point out that the type and scope of treaties has changed materially of recent years. Treaties which were formerly usually simple agreements between two nations are now often complex agreements with far-reaching implications, such as the United Nations Charter or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This is true. But the Bricker Amendment would also have far-reaching implications for the United States and the free world.

**The Bricker Amendment** would limit the treaty-making power of the Federal Government so that a treaty would no longer be enforceable as internal law if it dealt with the powers that are reserved to the

states under the Constitution. This would mean that in these unpredictable times the United States would amend its Constitution to create a no man's area in which the power for national action might not exist. This is because under the Bricker Amendment the Federal Government would be forbidden to act on subjects reserved for the states, but the states could not act in these areas either, for they are already forbidden by the Constitution to make any treaty with a foreign power.

**The President opposes any compromise** on this basic issue of limiting the treaty power. The Knowland Amendment leaves the Federal Government its present broad powers over foreign affairs.

Furthermore, the Bricker Amendment would complicate the conduct of our foreign relations by providing that treaties would no longer be self-executing. This would mean that in the future they could not be enforced in the United States until both Houses of Congress had passed supplemental legislation. Under the Knowland Amendment treaties would continue to be self-executing unless the Senate provided otherwise by including a provision that the treaty not be enforceable as internal law until the Senate and House had enacted further legislation.

It is now possible for the Senate to protect the states by putting such

a provision in treaties, but writing it into the Constitution would emphasize the fact and encourage this procedure. The Bricker Amendment also proposes to make it possible to limit severely the power of the President to make executive agreements by making all international agreements subject to regulation by Congress. In contrast, the Knowland Amendment would leave the President his present powers to make agreements and treaties and add the safeguard that "a provision of a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

Opponents of the Bricker Amendment say that it might prove suicidal for the United States to bind its own hands in its dealings with other nations. They believe that the Federal Government should retain its full power to make treaties and other agreements on any subject which is of international concern. If the United States should hamstring its treaty-making power at this time it would show a lack of understanding of world problems and our need for freedom of action to make any treaty which is in our best self-interest. It would also create grave doubt as to our intention of continuing to act as the mainstay of the UN.

There are a number of people who feel that the United Nations has gone too far in dealing with issues that were traditionally considered ques-

tions for domestic jurisdiction and who disapprove of the proposal to take the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights and write them into legally binding covenants. Yet they are also opposed to the risks that would be entailed in adopting the restrictions of the Bricker Amendment. All the Amendment's restrictions added together would produce grave impediments in the day-to-day conduct of our foreign relations. In fact, it might be years before the full extent of the effect of the Bricker Amendment became clear through Supreme Court interpretations of specific cases.

**Opponents of amendment** point out that there are already constitutional safeguards against unwise treaties. No treaty can be adopted unless the President and two thirds of the U.S. Senate approve. The sad fate of U.S. membership in the League of Nations and the former World Court are examples of the impossibility of obtaining a two-thirds majority in the Senate when there is any vocal opposition.

The Bricker controversy has its

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**NOTE:** Readers of this article may be interested in the address made by John Foster Dulles before the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association in Boston the last week of August. This address outlines the Administration's position on the Bricker Amendment. Write to the Department of Social Education and Action for copies of this address.

ironic aspects. Both sides claim that the intent of the Constitution will be changed unless we do as they advocate. The Bricker group say that treaties threaten the separation established in the Constitution between the powers of the Federal Government and the powers of the states. Opponents say the amendment would dangerously weaken the Federal Government and wreck the system of checks and balances by tying the hands of the Chief Executive. Both sides claim, therefore, that they are defending the Constitution, but the Bricker group are saying so more frequently and more loudly and often with a lack of regard for facts. Exaggerated claims are made that the United States has delegated or is about to delegate vast amounts of sovereignty to the United Nations or to one of the specialized agencies. Actually the only power given to the United Nations in the charter is the power to make recommendations to the member nations, except for the limited right to act against aggression delegated to the Security Council, where the United States is protected by its veto. Other obligations are moral commitments.

Much of the support for the movement to limit the treaty-making power stems from fear of social and economic change. High tariff protectionists fear international agreements to lower tariffs. Others fear the International Labor Organization conventions regulating labor



conditions. Doubtless some of the treaties recommended for adoption by certain of the United Nations' specialized agencies have been faulty or premature. But the United States is not under any moral obligation to accept an unwise treaty, and we often refuse to do so. However, to amend the treaty-making power for fear of a bad treaty is like killing the goose for fear it will lay a bad egg.

The basic issue in the Bricker controversy is whether the interest of the United States is best served by working with other nations to build a peaceful world order based on international law. If so, then Americans must understand the value and importance of treaties in accomplishing our objectives and the Federal Government must have full power to adopt them.

## American Aid to Burma

By GERALD F. WINFIELD, *Technical Co-operation Administration, Rangoon, Burma; author of China: the Land and the People.*

The churches have been interested in Point Four, which incarnates much of the missionary spirit and purpose. This account by Dr. Winfield on how Point Four has worked in Burma will be of interest to our readers.

IN THE heart of Rangoon lies Bandoolla Square. Long before daylight on January 4, 1951, it was crowded with a hushed, expectant throng. Along one side were gathered all of Burma's great and near great. Packing the rest of the square were ordinary citizens come to celebrate the Union of Burma's Independence Day at the foot of the newly erected Independence Monument, symbolic of the Union with its five states.

The astronomers had been consulted. Four fifty-four A.M., they decreed, was the propitious instant to unfurl the flag at the foot of the monument. At 4:51, the master of

ceremonies called for three minutes of absolute silence. Every eye followed the light as it inched down the gleaming marble toward the tips of the five encircling smaller shafts and the tight-furled flag. At the instant selected for the flag's unfurling, the light of the rising sun reached it. The blue, white, and red banner of the three-year-old nation fell open in the sunlight.

The first three years of the Union's existence were precarious, fraught with insurgency and civil war. Soon after Burma gained its independence from Great Britain, with the signing of the Nu-Attlee Agreement in 1948,

four parties revolted separately against the governing coalition, the Anti-Fascists Peoples Freedom League. The Karen National Defense Organiziation felt that the Karens should, like the other main minority tribes, be given a state within the Union. The other three parties were Communist or Communist sympathizers. On that third anniversary, the fighting was not yet under control, but the desperateness of the situation had been eased; the light hitting the flag was symbolic of the fact that Burma was coming out of the shadow and beginning its upward climb. Plans were already being made for the first national elections.

Just before this auspicious third anniversary of independence of the third country in history to completely free itself from Great Britain, an agreement had been signed bringing an American Economic Aid Mission to Burma. It was a "From One Friend to Another" program designed to help Burma to help itself get over the ravages of war, create new national services, expand its agriculture production, and develop technical and leadership training programs.

**Burma is a tropical country** about the size of Texas, bounded by India, Pakistan, China, Thailand, and the Bay of Bengal. It is economically better off than most of its neighbors. Before the war, Burma

annually produced a three-million-ton rice surplus. Even now, though the country was fought over twice by the Japanese and the Allies, and much of its rice-growing delta has been, off and on, in the hands of Karen insurgents, it produces a one and a half million ton surplus—one of the three countries in Asia to produce any surplus! While Burma is in a sounder position than many countries, its needs are also great. The war and insurgency destroyed its ports and cities, disrupted its rail lines, and sent thousands of country refugees fleeing to small bamboo huts crowded together in bombed-out sections of Rangoon. The literacy rate is high, but Burma badly needs well-trained technicians. The \$20 million American Aid program (with work in health, agriculture, forestry, transportation, industry, public works, cottage industry, public administration, and education) was aimed at meeting the needs the Burmese themselves felt.

One of the most immediate needs was to rebuild its ports and supply certain consumer commodities. The war had severely damaged the harbors of Rangoon, Akyab, Moulmein, Bassein, Mergui, and Tavoy. Shipping costs were unnecessarily high because of slow loading and unloading caused by inadequate facilities. American dollars and technical knowledge helped to clear them and supplied sheds, machinery, pontoons, and dredges for their rehabilitation.

Among the first results of the agreement visible to the average Burman was the importation of commodities such as cotton yarn and penicillin. Burma raises only short staple cotton, which makes poor yarn. Long staple cotton and yarn was needed for the cottage weaving industry. Penicillin worth \$119,544 was placed on the open market. This kept the price down and killed black market sales. The rupees made from selling these commodities went to the counterpart fund used for the local expenses of the program.

**As a result of the American Aid program,** Burma now has several new national services. Two of the important contributions of the health program were the incorporation of a Health Education Bureau and an Environmental Sanitation Bureau as permanent bureaus in the Burmese Ministry of Social Services.

In September, 1951, the Aung San Demonstration Health Center was opened in Insein, a small town just outside of Rangoon, as part of the general health program. It has the dual purpose of serving as a model public health center for training public health workers and of supplying the Insein district with medical services. The American-supplied Quonset huts house an administration office, an auditorium, a clinic, a laboratory, a sanitation building, and health education facilities. By the end of its second year of opera-

tion, the center had already given field training to more than one thousand schoolteachers, sanitation inspectors, health assistants, nurses, midwives, and health visitors.

The people of the Southern Shan States on the border of Thailand and China were dying out. They live in valleys infested with malaria. The infant mortality rate was high and many villages had dropped to half their former population. Into this area, an American health team was sent to combat malaria. Making their headquarters in Taunggyi, by June, 1953, they had sprayed the houses of 600,000 people with DDT and in the first year reduced malaria in many villages from 20 to 60 per cent of the population to only 5 to 10 per cent. The death rate also dramatically dropped.

Burma's ability to produce easily an exportable rice surplus is one of the factors strongly in its favor. However, aid was needed to expand agricultural production. The Burmese Department of Agriculture already had a going system including experimental seed farms which perfected seed and sent it to eighteen major seed farms to be raised in quantity. It was then sent to 226 minor farms located in the districts to be further multiplied and distributed to farmers. We supplied cement, Quonset huts, trucks, and other materials for these farms as well as material and personnel for the rehabilitation of the College of Agri-



culture in Mandalay and for other research projects.

Adding arable land to the total land under cultivation resulted from another project. Yandoon Island, and many others in the Irrawaddy delta, are dish-shaped, lower in the middle than around the outside. Until the British built dikes around them, they flooded each year. The dikes prevented the further growth of the island through silting but enabled higher land around the edge to be used for rice cultivation. An American-supplied sluice gate was built in the Yandoon dike to allow controlled flooding of parts of the island so that silting now adds about three hundred additional acres of land a year.

All these programs were designed to train Burmese to carry on work aided by Americans. For this reason, each American in the field had his Burmese counterpart.

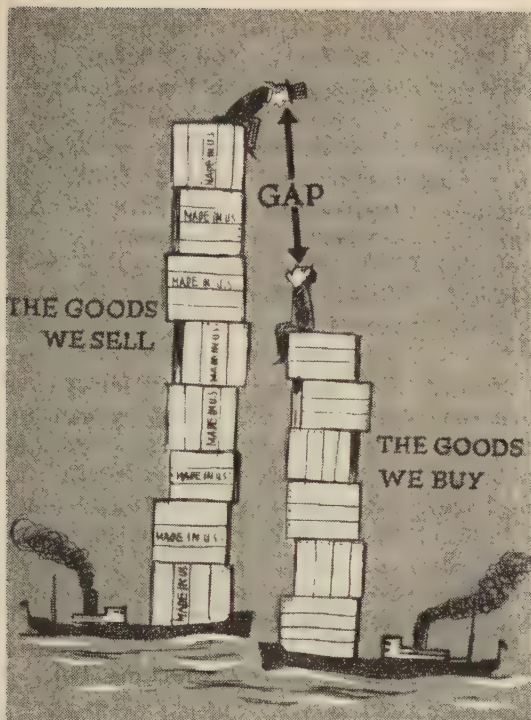
Because of the *phongyi kyangs* (village Buddhist monasteries which for centuries have run schools) and a rapidly growing public school system, the literacy rate of Burma is high in comparison to that of its Asian neighbors. However, there is much interest in raising it further. Into the already existing Mass Education Council, American aid put material to be used in its adult education and mass education leader-training programs.

The Translation Society, under the stimulation of Prime Minister U Nu,

who himself has done some translation, has translated many books into Burmese. Burmese, however, is one of the few important languages for which there is no automatic composing machine. The printing problem is being solved with the aid of an American printing specialist. The aid program has supplied a complete modern book printing plant which will soon be pouring out tens of thousands of books bringing the knowledge of the whole world to the people in their own language.

**These are but a few of the projects** which the Burmese and Americans worked out together in the past two and a half years. The American Aid Mission to Burma officially closed on June 30, this year. The remaining unfinished projects are being continued by the Government of the Union of Burma.

The sixth anniversary of Burmese independence this January will find Burma in a stronger position politically and economically than it was on its third anniversary. The Karen fighting has been almost completely curbed; the Communist insurrection is coming under control. The Government is in the hands of freely elected, capable men. With American help, much rehabilitation has been accomplished and many Burmese have had training that their country needs. Burma stands proudly among the nations of the world.



## Trade — and Aid

By BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB, well-known writer and speaker on international subjects; former editor of the United Nations News. Excerpts from a recent *Public Affairs* pamphlet. Used by permission.

**M**OST of us rarely think or care about which of the things we eat or use come from distant lands. Coffee and bananas, yes. We usually know about their being imported. But the other things, no.

This is not strange, for many of the imported materials are so transformed by American industry that even if we had seen the cargoes, we would not recognize them by the time they reach us. American industry is like a woman making a cake: a bit of this, a bit of that, beat it well, put it in the oven.

Take manganese, for example. Not a single pound of steel can be made without this essential ore. Yet nine tenths of our supply is imported. Manganese, therefore, is everywhere—in our cars, bridges, refrigerators, cooking utensils, even the springs of our mattresses.

On an average day about 418,000 tons of imports worth \$42,000,000 are swung ashore by cargo cranes. In 1952 our imports added up to more than \$11,000,000,000.

Some people think of imports as being harmful to our country. They

have a mental picture of all these foreign goods competing with the products of American farms and factories. Actually, only about one eighth of our total imports are finished manufactured products which will compete with American-made goods. A still smaller part are foreign farm products of a kind that we can produce here in this country.

### **Imports Are Vital**

Over one half of today's imports are minerals and other materials very much needed by American industry—things like copper, lead, tin, zinc, natural rubber, fuel oils, fibres for our strings and ropes, industrial diamonds to be used as the hard cutting edge of tools. If we could not get these things from abroad, our lives would be very different from what they are today.

There are many fascinating stories that can be told about imported materials and how they are used. Every American housewife loves stainless-steel knives. Stainless steel requires nickel from Canada and chrome from Turkey. Many of us used to think of castor oil as a horrid combination of medicine and punishment when administered by unreasonable parents. Today it is essential as a lubricant for jet engines which get so hot that ordinary lubricants break down. Almost all our supply of castor beans is imported from Brazil.

For some of the essential materials

that we import, substitutes exist, it is true. For others, substitutes could doubtless be found in the course of time. But substitutes are usually more expensive and less satisfactory than the raw materials we now gather from the far corners of the world. If we had to provide substitutes for all the hundreds of imports that our industries gobble up, we should be very much poorer as a nation. Each of us would have far less of the comforts that we now take for granted.

Because of the expense and burden of taking an active, responsible part in the troubled, war-torn, war-threatened world of today, it is sometimes tempting to think of turning our own country into an isolated fortress and letting the rest of the world take care of itself.

### **Exports Important Too**

Just as we do not recognize imported goods because they become part of the main economic blood stream of America, so most of us are not aware of our personal relation to the great export trade of our country. But that relationship is just as real as our relation to imports. Although only about 5 per cent of our total production is exported, that 5 per cent may make the difference between prosperity and depression.

When we think of what foreign trade means to us, we must remember not only the hundreds of industries that send a large part of their output directly abroad. We must re-

member too the fact that most of our other industries supply the export industries with materials or services. These other industries, therefore, suffer also when our exports decline.

For example, 10 per cent of the coal, gas, and electric power of the United States is used in making export goods. In 1947, 11 per cent of the traffic on railroads consisted of goods going into export. In the wholesale trade, 4 per cent of the goods dealt with went into export. In the communications field (telephone and telegraph), 4 per cent of the messages sent dealt with export orders or matters related to export.

It is estimated that about three million Americans owe their jobs to exports. Countless others owe their jobs to the fact that these three million are at work and have money in their pockets to spend on all the goods or services which any and all of us have to offer.

### **The Dollar Gap**

The difference between exports and imports is often spoken of as the "dollar gap"—to emphasize the fact that the dollars which foreigners earn by selling their goods here are not equal to the dollar value of the goods we send them.

The "dollar gap" poses a difficult problem. If we do not face it squarely, and deal with it realistically, it will have a serious effect upon our jobs, upon our standard of living, upon the taxes we pay,

and upon the defense efforts of the democracies and their internal struggle against Communism.

In order to see just why this is so, we need to look somewhat deeper into the matter of American trade and American trade policy than most of us usually do and ask why there is this dollar gap. One answer is that we have put certain obstacles in the way of imports while at the same time doing much to encourage exports. We have been unwilling to buy as much from foreign countries as we have sent them.

Compared to other countries, the United States has had far more goods available for export. We are the richest nation. Our factories were not destroyed by the war. We have technical knowledge. Besides having the goods to export, we have also had the will to export them. American business is tireless in its efforts to push its wares into distant markets.

Furthermore, the United States Government has helped foreign countries to buy from us the things they urgently need. When they have been short of the required dollars, we have helped them to finance imports from us.

### **Effect of the Aid Program**

Since 1946 the United States Congress has voted \$30,000,000,000 of foreign aid. Compare this with \$34,000,000,000—the value of what foreign countries received from us

*(Continued on page 29)*



# A Call to the Fourth N

*On the Churches and World Order, to be*

**I**N THE past turbulent decade the United States has been thrust into a position of world leadership. Our country has become the most powerful nation in the free world. This power carries with it great responsibility. In a world of threatened tyranny, of rising nationalism, and of unrest in the less developed areas, the power of a great nation like ours must be exercised with restraint and humility to avoid appeasement on one side and total war on the other.

Are the people of the United States prepared to accept the responsibilities of leadership in these crucial days? Are they willing to pay the price of power? In many ways our country has risen to the demands of this crucial hour in history. But there is mounting evidence that many of our people believe that the price of world leadership is too high. This unwillingness to accept our responsibility to the world community expresses itself in increasingly frequent and unjustified attacks upon the United Nations, and in opposition to all forms of economic and technical assistance abroad. This mood of withdrawal is not the old geographical isolationism, but a moral isolationism which fails to recognize the interdependence of all peoples and their mutual responsibility under God.

It is precisely in these difficult and anxious times that the churches of Christ in the United States must speak and speak clearly. With one accord the Protestant and Orthodox churches of this country have affirmed the mutual dependence of all nations and peoples under a God who is sovereign. What does this central affirmation mean in an hour like this? What can the churches say to the people? What insights can the churches give to those who make decisions that affect millions of persons throughout the world?

To consider these grave questions the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., through its Department of International Justice and Goodwill, is calling a nation-wide Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, to be convened in Cleveland, Ohio, October 27-30, 1953. This conference, like the three that preceded it, will be made up of the designated

# al Study Conference

Cleveland, Ohio, October 27-30, 1953.

representatives of the thirty communions of the National Council of Churches, together with delegates from state and local councils of churches and from related religious bodies. While the conference will speak only for itself, its findings, as in past conferences, will be presented to the General Board of the National Council of Churches.

I call upon all our constituent churches to co-operate in the preparatory study leading to the conference as well as in the educational program that will follow. Let us all pray that God may use this conference as an instrument of his peace and grace.

—Bishop William C. Martin, President,  
National Council of the Churches of  
Christ in the United States of America.

THE Presbyterian Church has been allotted thirty delegates to the conference. They are as follows: Mr. Emery Bacon, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Dr. Arthur M. Bannerman, Swannanoa, N. C.; Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard, Dayton, Ohio; Dr. William Adams Brown, Jr., Washington, D. C.; Dr. Arthur Coons, Los Angeles, Calif.; Mrs. Paul Cromwell, Knoxville, Tenn.; Rev. Clifford Earle, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. William A. Hastings, Madison, Wis.; Miss Mabel Head, New York, N. Y.; Dr. Paul Heath, Buffalo, N. Y.; Mr. Robert Jameson, Wooster, Ohio; Dr. Paul Lehmann, Princeton, N. J.; Dr. Ralph W. Lloyd, Maryville, Tenn.; Mr. Allen O. Mann, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Frank C. Martick, South Bend, Ind.; Dr. Franc L. McCluer, St. Charles, Mo.; Dr. Hermann N. Morse, New York, N. Y.; Dr. Paul Moser, New York, N. Y.; Dr. Paul C. Payne, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Ralph Pino, Detroit, Mich.; Dr. Paul Newton Poling, Salem, Ore.; Dr. James H. Robinson, New York, N. Y.; Miss Rebecca Smaltz, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. John Coventry Smith, New York, N. Y.; Rev. Harry B. Taylor, Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Stuart Taylor, Vineland, N. J.; Dr. Charles J. Turck, St. Paul, Minn.; Mrs. Herbert J. Vogelsang, Buffalo, N. Y.; Dr. Henry Lee Willet, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Frank T. Wilson, Washington, D. C.

# Sanctuary

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## AMOS—FREEDOM'S APOSTLE

The sixth and last in a series of worship services prepared by NORMAN F. LANGFORD for the Christian Education National Conference, Buck Hill Falls, March 7-12. Dr. Langford is Editor in Chief, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

### VI. Amos 7: 12-17

*"Also Amaziah said unto Amos, O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there: But prophesy not again any more at Beth-el: for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court. Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was a herdman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit: And the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel. Now therefore hear thou the word of the Lord: Thou sayest, Prophesy not against Israel, and drop not thy word against the house of Isaac. Therefore thus saith the Lord; thy wife shall be a harlot in the city, and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword, and thy land shall be divided by line; and thou shalt die in a polluted land: and Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land."*

AMAZIAH would prefer that Amos do his prophesying someplace else—in another country, in fact. That what Amos had to say was relevant to Israel, and indeed was very pertinently connected with the destiny of the nation, does not seem to have weighed in Amaziah's mind as a consideration. He would rather be comfortable than in possession of the truth; he would rather have his own ideas undisturbed than face the facts; he would, as we have previously seen, rather castigate Amos' teaching as seditious than consider whether this prophecy would really serve his own nation's good. Inasmuch as Amos had come from Judah, the obvious solution was for him to return there. Evidently there was no basis or provision for deportation; but, coming from so high a source, this hint that Amos would be safer in his own land carried the force of a threat.

Amos, however, was not impressed. His calling, as it happened, was from God; and it also happened that this calling pertained to Israel. The messages that God commissions are not neatly confined to territorial divisions. There

are responsibilities that transcend nationality, and considerations so weighty that obedience to God requires plain speaking: just as there are matters that are not sectional in their importance but are of consequence for an entire nation. What became of Amos we are not told. But it is reassuring to find him determined to say what God had called upon him to say, regardless of being forbidden to speak any more in the vicinity of the chapel of the king of Israel. This broad transcending of national boundaries, this willingness to speak internationally in the service of God, is what one could wish for the Church of Jesus Christ. The national church, the territorial church, or the church determined by sectional prejudices—all these phenomena are a denial of the real character of Christendom, in which the kingdoms of this world are subject to a superior Lordship, and the truth that springs from Scripture retains its implacable and uncompromising force in Russia, Germany, Britain, and America, in New York or in Wisconsin!

**B**UT there is another aspect of this passage which demands even more careful attention. Amos is quick to say that he was not one of the professional prophets who made their living by reporting, or claiming to report, the oracles of God. On the contrary, this hazardous assignment took him away from his regular means of livelihood. Amos was really out of his element, entering the lists as a prophet. Yet if he had only been listened to, how much safer would have been the institutions of organized religion! It was folly for the professionals, the priests in this instance, to ignore the witness of this humble shepherd and tree tender. The fate of the nation, in fact, hung upon the heed paid or not paid to a countryman taken from his simple occupation to deliver warnings from God himself.

There is no great object in dwelling upon the fact that Amos was, so to speak, a layman, for the right of the layman to participate actively in our Church's leadership is fully recognized. What we might better reflect upon is this: that the wisdom we most need to ponder may very well come from sources that we would at first glance think unpromising, and indeed outside the Church entirely. With the utmost diligence and professional conscientiousness we may devote ourselves to theology, to Christian education, to curriculum, to social education and action, to the many and various branches of our common concern as servants of the Church. Yet there may be others, outside of these regular concerns of ours, who speak more to the point than we do; and it may be that the ignoring of the judgment of those others will put all our institutions, both national and religious, in jeopardy. God uses whom he will to deliver his messages.



THERE is no assurance that the most pertinent things in this time of crisis will be said by Presbyterians, or even by Christians! There are some persons who pass the Church by, or even despise it, who nevertheless have a compassion and a penetration and a timeliness in social matters that is quite the equal of our own, and may indeed surpass it. The pillars of the Church are by no means necessarily the most sensitive people on God's earth. And precisely because we care about the Church, precisely because we are eager to preserve the faith we hold, we will do unwisely to disregard the urgent words and enterprising actions of any who apparently have on their heart the burdens of humanity. Our best friends may be outside our own number; and there is no telling where we will find affinities that we never knew existed. It was the distress of the Jews in Germany that gave the first clear warning that the Christian Church was in like peril. It is the experience of many liberal-minded persons in this land, not always within the Christian fold, in the inquisition they are these days enduring, that tells us how hard it might eventually go with church-

men who also recognize that piety is neither a guarantee of righteousness nor a substitute for it.

Any man who thinks clearly, and perceives the distinction between right and wrong, is a friend of the Church of Jesus Christ. There is no kind of religious protocol which is appropriate in these matters. The voice of the poor and the underprivileged (in this country or abroad), the voice of the good statesman whatever his country or religion, the voice of the intellectual who knows fraud and sham when he sees them, the voice of any humane man—they are all voices to listen to.

What we hear within our own chosen circle is not enough. The Lord himself was no professional: they called him the carpenter's son, and he had no official standing. The Church is the creation of Him who was disregarded and despised. The Church was framed by One who was reckoned an outsider. And we best preserve the apostolic succession by hearkening to every voice that has something relevant to say—lest the voice we miss should be his own, speaking in accents that we failed to recognize because they are so timely.

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### New U N Stamp

October 24, United Nations Day, has been chosen as the date of issuance of the third United Nations commemorative stamp. It will appear in three-cent and five-cent denominations. Inquire at your local post office.

# Christian ACTION

## UNITED NATIONS NEWS NOTES

Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, of India, has just been elected as the president for the eighth session of the General Assembly. She has led the India delegation for several years, has been ambassador both to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., has given notable service to her own Government, and, like her brother, Prime Minister Nehru, has suffered three prison experiences for the cause of independence. She was a follower of Mahatma Gandhi and is one of the very strong and highly respected members of the United Nations.

The eighth Assembly, which convened on September 15, may be followed over the radio by connecting with one of a number of national networks that carries UN broadcasts. If your stations do not carry it, urge them to do so. Also urge your local newspaper to carry real information, not just sensational comments. Learn to know the United States delegates. Write them, showing your interest in what they are trying to do or giving your opinion on some of the important topics that will come up for consideration.

**Trusteeship System**—Dr. Ralph Bunche says of the trusteeship system of the United Nations: "In the pattern for world peace, the well-being and aspirations of the subject peoples of the world figure prominently. The so-called backward peoples have become sufficiently advanced to contribute mightily to democracy's victory in two world wars. They expect and deserve a fair share of the fruits of those historic efforts to preserve world peace."

This was recognized at San Francisco and three chapters of the Charter were given to this subject. The Trusteeship Council is the organ of the UN responsible for its administration. In 1946 the first trust agreements were approved and by 1947 the Council had supervision of eight territories. Three more have since been added. Some eighteen to twenty million people live in these areas. While under the Council, each territory is administered by one country. The United States administers the strategic Pacific Island area. The Council reviews conditions through reports, visiting missions, and by receiving petitions from the

people. It seeks the help of different specialized agencies and other groups in lifting the level of the people. In the words of General Romulo, "The steady progress being made by the trusteeship system represents a high-water mark of political morality in the modern world."

### **Non-self-governing Peoples—**

Closely related to the trusteeship system is the work for non-self-governing territories, usually referred to as dependent peoples, about two hundred million of them. Colonial Governments are asked to make yearly reports on the economic, social, and educational conditions, and to give data on political and administrative matters. The Assembly has directed the specialized agencies to co-operate in providing training facilities for students and technical workers, and in eradicating illiteracy. This work is of great psychological importance and gives hope to millions aspiring to better living and to independence. The list of dependent areas is too long to give here but it can be obtained from the UN information pamphlet *Non-self-governing Territories* (15 cents).

**The Road to the Equality of Women—**Before the First World War, the right of women to vote in national elections had been granted only by Australia, New Zealand, Norway, twelve states of the United

States, and Finland, which was not then independent. Between the First World War and the establishment of the UN, political rights were granted in thirty-six countries. Fifteen countries still grant no political rights to women, but, strange to say, in some of these countries women may hold public office.

In 1946 the UN General Assembly created the Commission on the Status of Women, which prepares materials and makes recommendations concerning women in all parts of the world. Their recommendation was passed by the Assembly and sent to all countries. It urged the granting of political rights, including the right to hold public office, and was instrumental in helping to secure political rights in twenty-two states.

The Commission is not only interested in securing political rights but in education and training to enable women to carry out their responsibilities. Minerva Bernardino, of the Dominican Republic, the dynamic chairman of the Commission, worked hard at San Francisco to include a provision stating that no restrictions be placed on the eligibility of women to participate in all its work. She was ably assisted by Mrs. Sanchez Urdaneta, of Venezuela.

When the General Secretary made a report some time ago showing that more than half of the employees of the UN were women, these two women, together with Mrs. Laura

Tabot, the effective leader from Lebanon, Miss Manas from Cuba, who has been at the UN almost continuously, and Mrs. Gabriela Mistral of Chile, insisted on a listing of the women. This revealed that most of them were in the low-salary, routine positions. In the six top categories of 516 employees, 29 are women. Of 1,495 persons in the Secretariat, 347 are women.

In seeking to do something about this situation, Mrs. Warde, from the United Kingdom, felt that more study was needed as to the number of women qualified and ready to assume responsibility. Madame Le-

fauchaux, of France, past chairman, urged action on the material now in hand. Mrs. Oscar Hahn, new delegate from the United States, wisely pointed out that the solution depended on national policies. A study from thirty-four countries showed a need for much more work along this line.

The data collected by the Commission on the Status of Women contains more definite information than can be found in any one place. It should be noted that a number of Protestant denominations have commissions on this subject.

—*Mabel Head, UN Observer*

## UN ACTION PROJECTS

On Saturday, October 24, the United Nations will be eight years old. When the new international organization was born in a war-weary world Americans hailed it with tremendous rejoicing and hope. But their starry-eyed idealism all too quickly turned to distrust and cynicism when in less than a decade the United Nations could not accomplish what the statesmen of the world had failed to do through many centuries.

The churches of America gave great impetus to the drafting of the UN Charter, and representatives of the major states served as consultants to the United States delegates as the new instrument came into being. In the present era of mounting

tension and fear the leadership of the churches is again sorely needed to restore public confidence in the United Nations and to interpret the fact of its successes and failures.

Christians who believe in one God, the sovereign ruler of all men and nations, have an inescapable responsibility to work and pray for one world—united and ordered for the freedom and well-being of mankind. Christians, therefore, will find various ways to observe UN Week, placing special emphasis on World Order Sunday, October 25. Last year churches and presbyteries reported these and other forms of UN Week programing. All are especially recommended for the 1953 observance.



### **Prayer for the United Nations**

—Set aside a brief period of prayer and meditation for the United Nations and the peace of the world. Include parts of the preamble to the UN Charter, excerpts from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the UNESCO Constitution. Prayers and appropriate Scripture and meditation may be prepared by the minister or lay leadership for each day of the week and sent to every church family, with the suggestion that the family join in these prayers and meditations at some appointed time each day.

### **UN Observance in the Church School**

—The first Sunday in October, two weeks in advance of UN Week, plan for each church school teacher to announce the observance of United Nations Week and World Order Sunday and to recommend that each child and family group read and pray about the United Nations. The following books are especially recommended for family groups: *You and Your United Nations*, by Lois Fisher, Children's Press, Chicago, Ill., 60 cents; *Partners—The United Nations and You*, by Eleanor Roosevelt and Helen Ferris, Doubleday & Company, Inc., \$3.00

**UN Family Observance**—Parents and church school teachers may work out a list of suggested projects which church school families can de-

velop in the coming weeks. Each family, for instance, might develop a UN hobby—stamp or doll collections, with exhibits from the sixty member nations. In families where music is especially enjoyed collections of recordings and folk songs may be made. Facts about the United Nations can be introduced in family conversation at mealtime. Older children can be especially helpful because of their social studies and what they are learning about the United Nations in their schoolwork.

**UN Birthday Parties**—Encourage all the church families to join in a Church Family Night Birthday commemorating the birthday of the United Nations, where the menu, the decorations, the music, and the games may be built around the theme "The United Nations and You." If it is not practical, however, to have a Church Family Night program, individual family groups can be encouraged to have their own birthday celebrations and to prepare dishes of other lands for the birthday party menu. Games at these family parties can instruct participants about the United Nations.

### **Personalize the UN**

Many American servicemen from Presbyterian families have been involved in the bitter fighting in Korea. As their home-coming is anxiously awaited, what could be more constructive than to help their

families and friends to understand the complicated international situation in the Far East. Present-day issues of peace and world affairs are so complex and far-reaching that the average person is tempted to apply himself only to his personal interests and problems without realizing that world affairs intimately affect his security and well-being. But personal concern for an individual serviceman can be enlarged to include world concern through forums and informal discussions. Churches can help to increase general understanding of the need for the constructive foreign policy outlined in Clifford Earle's editorial.

Wise social action leaders need to find ways to help the members of our churches to see the effects of the larger issues on their personal lives and concerns. If world affairs are to be understood and acted upon, they must be made personal.

**Observe UN Week in the regular meetings of church organizations and boards**—Review the social pronouncements of General Assembly dealing with the United Nations in the regular October meetings of the session and deaconate.

Make October, or more particularly, World Order Sunday or United Nations Week, the occasion for launching a world affairs study course, to be held on midweek or Sunday evenings. A series of four to six sessions might explore the fol-

lowing aspects of a Christian policy for peace:

I. The Churches and the UN (Opening Session)

Resource Materials:

*The Churches and the United Nations*, by Walter Van Kirk.

The pronouncements of the General Assemblies of 1951, 1952, 1953 dealing with the United Nations.

"The Bricker Controversy," by Georgianna Fales Mitchell, in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

*The Assault on the UN*, by Alexander Uhl. Public Affairs Institute, 312 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 25 cents.

II. Christian Policy and World Trade

Resource Materials:

*Trade—and Aid*, by Beatrice Pitney Lamb, a Public Affairs pamphlet, and Mrs. Lamb's article "Trade—and Aid" in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

III. The Church and Technical Assistance

Resource Materials:

*United Nations Work and Programs for Technical Assistance*. UN Department of Public Information, New York. 15 cents.

*Point 4 Profiles*. Department of State Publication 4859. Available from Department of Social Education and Action.

Dr. Winfield's article in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

#### IV. Freedom and Human Rights

Resource Materials:

General Assembly pronouncements.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

*Human Rights—World Declaration and American Practice*, by Roger N. Baldwin. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 167.

*You Hold the Key to Human Rights*. Methodist Board of Missions and Church Extension, 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37, Ohio. 50 cents.

#### V. The World and Us

Resource Materials (all available from the Department of Social Education and Action):

*United States Efforts Toward Disarmament*.

*Whom We Shall Welcome* (immigration).

*What You Should Know About the McCarran Immigration Act*.

#### VI. What Can Christians Do to Work for the Peace of the World?

Resource Materials: Write Department of Social Education and Action for list of action projects.

The purpose of the course would be to involve people in group discussion and action, and to stimulate them to do further reading, think-

ing, and acting on their own. In each session the emphasis should be on group discussion and full participation, with a lively exchange of ideas among group members, and with a minimum of presentations and speeches by "experts." All participants should be encouraged to do some advance reading.

Each session should begin or close with a worship period, including prayer, Scripture or a litany or responsive reading based on Scripture, and selected readings from United Nations documents.

The group leader and a small steering committee should carefully prepare for the study course. The leader should know the declared positions of General Assembly, and be familiar with the program techniques that will promote group thinking and democratic action.

Following each session, or the course as a unit, there should be careful evaluation of what has happened and possible results in terms of changed opinion and increased interest in world affairs. It would be well also to draw up a list of specific books and pamphlets to read and discuss and projects to act upon at the conclusion of the course.

The Department of Social Education and Action has *limited* supplies of packets for discussion leaders of world order study groups. These packets are available free—first come, first served!

—Margaret E. Kuhn

✕ Though Congress is not in session, the national political scene remains rather active. The death of Chief Justice Vinson, the resignation of Secretary of Labor Durkin, various actions and announcements from the White House, and interim reports of Congressional investigating committees have served to focus much attention on Washington.

**UN Charter Revision**—In compliance with a resolution introduced by Senator Gillette (D., Iowa) and passed by the Senate in the session just closed, a bipartisan commission composed of eight Senators will make a study to recommend changes in the United Nations Charter. This seems a wise and forehanded development since the original UN Charter provides for this subject to be taken up for review in 1955. Senator Wiley (R., Wis.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, will head this subcommittee. Other members are Senators Ferguson (R., Mich.), Knowland (R., Calif.), Sparkman (D., Ala.), Gillette (D., Iowa), Mansfield (D., Mont.), Holland (D., Fla.), and Cooper (R., Ky.).

In the words of *The Washington Post*: "The personnel of the commission has been carefully chosen. It includes some of the best friends of the United Nations in the Senate,

and there is not a bitter-ender in the lot. If this group makes a comprehensive study of its subject, it can contribute immeasurably to the cause of strengthening the UN." Hearings on the matter may open sometime in October with high United Nations officials being invited for informal discussions. Among matters to be examined will be proposals looking toward a restriction on the use of veto powers and ways to make the organization more inclusive in the face of Soviet vetoes which have prevented many nations from membership.

**Foreign Aid**—Late in September, the Department of Commerce announced that the United States had expended \$92.1 billion in foreign aid over the past twelve years. Of this amount \$11.8 billion has been returned in the form of repayments and reverse grants.

As we go to press, all indications are that drastic changes will have to be made in the form of foreign aid if any future programs are to be approved by Congress. A seventeen-member commission has been named by President Eisenhower to make a broad survey of this whole question, but leading Congressional spokesmen of both parties are already adamant in calling for major alterations.

Senator William Knowland, Republican floor leader, says that only



those nations "which demonstrate that they can act effectively on the anti-Communist team" get any further aid. Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Democratic floor leader, says that "the major issue before the next session of Congress will be to hammer out a new foreign policy for America." And he goes farther to say that he has voted for his last foreign aid bill unless certain other countries "set their house in order."

The reorganization of our foreign aid setup wherein all programs are headed up into the Foreign Operations Administration (Sept. issue, SOCIAL PROGRESS) carries the provision that all policy guidance must come from the Department of State. This should guarantee the Secretary of State a key role in all foreign operations and should promote a more cohesive foreign policy.

To avoid any conflict of authority among our various representatives abroad, President Eisenhower issued executive orders outlining procedures and functions of F.O.A. and spelled it out that the U. S. ambassador or minister in each country will be the top "channel of authority" on foreign policy. These officials will exercise "general direction and leadership" of the entire effort on foreign policy and will see to it that all actions are "effectively coordinated" and in line with established American policy.

**Bricker Resolution**—The announcement in mid-September by

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Democratic leader of the Senate, that he would support a compromise version of this controversial amendment at the next session of Congress is an important development. Particularly so, since he predicts the passage of this legislation by an "overwhelming" vote. Senator Johnson was not among the more than sixty Senators who originally cosponsored this amendment.

The Senator said he would support a modified form of the proposal because "the objectives are desirable." He listed these objectives as: (1) to assure Americans "that their constitutional rights cannot be lost through any treaty" and (2) to assure the President "all the proper authority he needs for the conduct of foreign affairs."

Commenting further, Senator Johnson said, "At the moment there is an involved technical argument over the meaning of the language, but the two sides are closer to each other today than they have been in the past." He minimized the current differences by saying that in Congress "people who are united on objectives can usually find a way to get together on methods."

Senator Johnson's support of the "objectives" of this legislation is especially significant in that it indicates the removal of the issue from the area of partisanship.

—Helen Lineweaver

over and above what they sold us in this period. Year after year our foreign aid program has almost covered the "dollar gap." The grants and loans advanced by our Government have put dollars of buying power first into the hands of foreign Governments and, through them, into the hands of private foreign purchasers.

Often we think of foreign aid as money leaving America. This is misleading. The dollars are spent here. They are used to pay American farms and factories for the surplus goods which the freighters carry away.

The fact that aid goes abroad as goods rather than as money does not mean any less discomfort for us when we pay our income taxes. But it has resulted in an increased sale of American goods—and has thus contributed to full employment in this country.

The exchange of goods is not the only factor in the balance of international payments, but it is the biggest factor. American tourist expenditures and American private investments abroad sometimes add to the dollars available to foreign countries. Yet when interest payments on these investments come back to America, this again makes inroads on the dollars available to foreigners for other purposes.

In short, exports and imports do

not have to stay at exactly the same level, but they inevitably remain very close to each other unless big loans or grants on one side of the ledger make possible big deliveries of goods on the other.

When we talk of decreasing our foreign aid appropriations, there is one thing we must keep in mind. Unless we increase our imports (or start making big private loans abroad), the cut in foreign aid will lead to a reduction in our exports.

This would mean many jobs lost in our most productive industries and reduce the purchasing power of our farmers. It would mean a severe dislocation in American economic life. Many of the workers now engaged in making things for export would have to be shifted into making things for the home market. We could doubtless accomplish this, but some people would suffer in the process.

Before we make any decisions as to what to do about the related problems of trade and aid and the dollar gap, we need to study the reasons for foreign aid.

A fuller discussion of the total problem of trade and aid may be found in Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 195, *Trade—and Aid*, published by The Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. 25 cents.

# About Books

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**World Without End**, by Emil Lengyel. The John Day Company. \$5.00.

This is a shocking book—shocking, that is, to us who are children of privilege and who have never realized that two thirds of mankind live in a global poorhouse, one of the worst parts of which is the Middle East. In the Arab countries and Iran, people do not live—they merely vegetate. “There is no standard of living in the European sense—mere existence is accepted as a standard.” The pattern of life, whether for the Egyptian peasant or for the desert Arab, is one of poverty, filth, and disease, intensified by the ignorance of the poor and the complete indifference of the rich.

But for all its problems in economics, we dare not write off the Middle East as hopeless or insignificant, for here civilization had its birth and mankind’s history began. Here, as well, at least three of the world’s great religions had their inception. And in our own time, this region of endless ferment constitutes the crossroads of world commerce. By looking at the people and their society, their geography and history, Dr. Lengyel, who is a lifelong stu-

dent of the area involved, shows the critical importance of the Middle East as a state for world politics.

The story of the Middle East is incredibly complicated, and this book helps to make it understandable. This in itself is no small service. But, more important, *World Without End* is a call to action, a challenge to the United States as the leading power of the West to bolster the constructive forces in Middle Eastern life and thus assure a better future for all the world.

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**Five Gentlemen of Japan**, by Frank Gibney. Farrar, Straus & Young, Inc. \$4.00.

The American observer is likely to think of the Japanese in terms of caricature, and he cannot reconcile what he sees: the extremes of character and behavior, the jarring blacks and whites, the savage war effort and docile acceptance of the occupation, the treachery of Pearl Harbor, and the deep sense of family and community loyalty which characterizes the daily life of millions in Japan. All this is puzzling, to say the least, and even when one makes allowances for the usual inconsistencies of human nature, he

can hardly believe that the "mad-dened horde of banzaiing fanatics" of World War II had anything in common with the land of Madame Butterfly and cherry blossoms.

Not deterred by these obvious contradictions, Frank Gibney offers us a sympathetic and hopeful picture of the hidden realities of Japanese life, weaving his study of the national character and history around the lives of a newspaperman, a vice-admiral, a steelworker, a farmer, and the emperor himself. These "five gentlemen of Japan," although differing widely in station and training, share the common inheritance of their country's unstable past. They are heirs "to a society which had its morality and ways of thinking first critically misshapen by six centuries of civil war, then artificially frozen in their deformed state by three centuries of isolation."

Mr. Gibney's book gives us a most readable and informative study of a dynamic people whose culture is tangent to both East and West and therefore a bridge to the future understanding between the continents.

—G. Aubrey Young

**Foreign Policy Without Fear**, by Vera Micheles Dean. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. \$3.75.

In this important book, Mrs. Dean reinforces her reputation as a clear-thinking and lucid student of foreign affairs.

Here are a few lines from page

25 to arouse your interest: "Foreign policy is but a reflection of a nation's philosophy of life. Domestic and foreign policies are but two faces of the same coin. It is impossible to oppose change at home and press for it abroad; to carry the torch for anticolonialism in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, yet tolerate racial discrimination within one's own borders; to hedge the country with high tariff and immigration barriers, yet urge other nations to create free economic unions and to offer refuge generously to homeless people."

*Foreign Policy Without Fear* presents a clear assessment of the hard realities of present-day world affairs. It also offers a penetrating prescription for facing them with a long-range policy. Mrs. Dean shows that our foreign policy needs to be related to deep and lasting problems that will persist even though Russia were to disappear. She calls for an outlook on the world that takes into account the realities about Russia, but which is not confined to that set of realities.

Two splendid chapters have to do with the challenges presented by Europe and by Asia. She helps us to understand how the common people of the two parts of the world look at us, and what they see through the various lenses turned our way.

The book comes to its conclusion with a remarkable chapter, "Ingredients of a Fearless Policy." "The



most essential of these ingredients," she says, "is faith in our own capacity to act democratically. This, and this alone, can make us face the grueling task of foreign policy without fear."

**The American Road to World Peace**, by Sir Alfred Zimmern. E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. \$4.00.

Sir Alfred Zimmern is emeritus professor of international relations at Oxford University, and a former director of the Geneva School of International Studies. He writes with a long, intimate, and easy knowledge of modern world events, especially in the European theater of affairs.

The book is put together in an interesting way. There are two parts divided into twelve sections and seventy-three chapters.

Part I deals with the period before the United Nations and touches on these subjects—"The Warning of a Great Geographer"; "America, the Citadel of Freedom"; "Europe"; "1914"; "Woodrow Wilson and Elihu Root"; "Twenty Years of Expedients"; "World War II." Part II is captioned "The United Nations" and the sections are titled as follows—"The World After World War II"; "Paving the Way for the United Nations"; "The American Road"; "The Atomic Reconnaissance"; "The United Nations Charter."

*The American Road to World Peace* is really an outline of world

affairs leading to the development of the world organization, and a searching appraisal of the United Nations as the one great road to peace.

The profound importance of this book is emphasized by what Mr. Dulles, our Secretary of State, has said recently about the hopes of our Government in relation to the Revising Assembly of the United Nations which will very likely be held in 1955. Sir Alfred Zimmern pleads eloquently for a continued confidence in the United Nations and for the possibility of making it stronger and more effective than it now is. He points to this possibility as the American road to world peace.

—C. E.

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SOCIAL PROGRESS

## FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

### Young People Have Something to Say

**T**HIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS has been planned and edited by the national officers of Westminster Fellowship. All the principal articles have been written by representative Presbyterian young people—most of them members of the National Council of Westminster Fellowship. The magazine will be used by youth leaders throughout the Church in preparation for the Third National Assembly of Westminster Fellowship, which will be held on the campus of the University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois, next June 30 to July 6.

The young people of Westminster Fellowship are not the Church of tomorrow; they are an important part of the Church of today. Along with the National Council of Presbyterian Men and the National Council of Presbyterian Women's Organizations they are the strength and power of the Church, and more than the other groups they embody the Church's expectation.

We are proud of Westminster Fellowship with its vital program and dedicated groups in five thousand Presbyterian churches and on 160 campuses across the land, and its thousands of youth officers in synod and presbytery WF organizations.

### "And Do It"

**A**T THE heart of the Westminster Fellowship statement of purpose is this phrase—"discover God's will . . . and do it."

The idea here is that Christianity is something to be done. It is a life to be lived, a set of ideals to be worked out, a creed to be turned into action. Our Master has said, "Not every one who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven." He also said, "Every one then who hears these words of mine and does them will be like a wise man who built his house upon the rock."

This does not mean that what a man believes makes no difference; rather, it means that what a man believes ought to make a big



difference in the way in which he lives and in what he does with his life.

This is a profoundly Presbyterian idea. As the last General Assembly said, if we as Presbyterians are loyal to that which is most distinctive in our own religious inheritance, we shall earnestly assert the relevance of our Christian faith to social relations. We shall seek to know and to do the will of God in the concrete situations of everyday life.

The young people of Westminster Fellowship like their religion relevant. Their Christian commitment is deep and real; they love and serve their church; they know the importance of the devotional life. Beyond all this, and giving meaning to it all, they strive to relate their faith to the hard problems of human freedom, race relations, economic fair play, and international peace.

## Memo for Ministers

A MINISTER who is known throughout his synod as a solid and effective preacher reports that he has found the annual volumes of *Youth Fellowship Kit* to be a rich source of sermon ideas and illustrations. Volume 11, published last June, is better than ever, and that is saying a great deal. Every minister should have a copy and should read it carefully, not only for the fine sermons he will find in it but, more important, for an understanding of the problems young people face and of their religious interests and concerns. *Youth Fellowship Kits* give testimony again that Presbyterian young people want their religion to be socially relevant.

## "Social Progress" Goes South

THE Council on Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. will share in editing the December issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*. The joint issue of our magazine will be distributed among ministers and other leaders throughout the U. S. Church.

The magazine will feature four articles on the following subjects: The Scriptural Basis for Christian Social Responsibility; The Reformed Faith and Social Action; The Church's Unfinished Business—Most Urgent, Unresolved Issues Facing Christians Today; and Social Action and Evangelism. There will also be an appropriate "Sanctuary" section and other material of interest to both Church groups. All these pieces, including the major articles, are being written by representative leaders of the U. S. and U. S. A.

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Churches, including the Moderators of the two General Assemblies.

It is our hope that once or twice a year, or even more often, SOCIAL PROGRESS can be used in this way as a means of interpreting the social witness of the Church in line with our Presbyterian heritage.

## Preview

THIS youth issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS features five articles on themes selected for emphasis by the National Council of Westminster Fellowship in its meeting in Parkville, Missouri, last July.

The first article, by Ronny Roberts, deals with civil rights. It is really a fine interpretation of the Purdue opinion poll of attitudes and beliefs of high school students. This article is a "must" for every reader of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The second article, by Sarah Longman, is also required reading. It is an exceedingly frank report of the study made by our National WF leaders during the last year of the pattern of racial integration in our Presbyterian colleges and student groups. This article raises searching questions which we cannot as Christians evade.

The operation of our security laws as reflected in a "border incident" is the basis of William Metcalf's fine article. This is interpretative reporting of something that really happened.

Westminster Fellowship students are hosts this year to Julius Gecau, of Kenya, Africa, who is in this country as an "ecumenical ambassador." Julius has spent four years in India studying at Ewing Christian College at Allahabad. The fourth article, by Harold Viehman, reports an interview with Julius, made in September by Ken Burris, a member of WF National Council.

The article on free speech by Dave McPhail has many interesting points in it that are well worth considering.

The "Christian Action" section is especially rich in reports of actual projects involving Presbyterian youth. "Sanctuary" is from the able pen of Jane Dowell, new Staff member of the Department of Campus Christian Life of the Board of Christian Education.

The half dozen book reviews were prepared by key young people connected with the WF National Council.

A word about the authors of this special material will be found at the back of the magazine.

—Clifford Earle



# What Do High School Students Mean by Freedom?

By RONNY ROBERTS

**F**REEDOM! Civil liberties! Human rights! These are familiar words to any high school student, words we study in school, read about in the papers, hear on the radio; and talk about daily. They are important words in these times when relationships between people are often strained. They are important words to high school students because, during high school, basic concepts and convictions begin to take form.

What do our high school youth believe about civil rights in these critical times? Perhaps you don't believe that it makes too much difference what high school young people think. But we're very much interested. Who were we? We were a group of Presbyterian high school students from all parts of the country gathered for the Westminster Fellowship National Council at Park College in Missouri. By title, we were the High School Christian Citizenship Program Area group. There were fourteen of us all together. From Minnesota to Texas, New Jersey to Washington we came with different backgrounds and ideas. But we had one thing in common. We were interested in examining from the Christian point of view what

high school people thought on such pertinent issues as civil rights. We sometimes disagreed, but we spent a good many hours in study and discussion. Finally we arrived at some definite conclusions.

We had before us some of the results of a poll made by the Purdue Opinion Panel.\* Fifteen thousand high school students from all sections of the country were questioned on civil rights issues. The results of the Purdue opinion polls are considered a good index to the thinking of the entire high school generation.

As a representative group of high school people, we were very much interested and startled by the thinking of the youth of today. We should like to share some of the findings that we considered important and a few of the facts that worried us.

**D**O you believe that the only way to protect our American heritage is to silence the critics among us? According to the survey material, a substantial number of our present high school generation believe that our Government should prohibit some people from making

\* Information used by permission of Purdue University.

public speeches or from circulating petitions. A majority of the high school people surveyed felt that groups should have the power to ban or censor certain books and movies. They felt that laws should be passed against printing or selling any Communist literature. Even in peacetime, members of the Communist Party in this country should not be allowed to speak on the radio.

Although the above findings were lifted out of the poll as especially significant, they are consistent with the total results of the survey. These findings represent a trend that is prevalent among our youth. The ideas as revealed in this study are in direct conflict with the Bill of Rights in its guarantees of freedom of assembly, speech, press, and petition. They are also in direct conflict with the Christian principle that God intended man to live in freedom.

We, the high school citizenship group at National Council, feel that everyone should be free to say whatever he thinks and even to attempt to sway others to his view. We were deeply concerned over the totalitarian tendencies reflected in the results of the poll.

An overwhelming majority of high school youth believe that teachers should be required to sign loyalty oaths. We who were at National Council understood this feeling because we share their concern about the threat of Communism. However, the loyalty oath represents an ex-

pression of fear instead of a rational and effective approach to the problem. According to the best information we can secure, not one spy or disloyal person has been uncovered by the use of the oath. The FBI and CIA are protectors of our national secrets: it is their job to uncover spies and enemies in our midst and they do not resort to questionnaires in order to do so.

PUBLIC servants have long taken loyalty oaths of affirmation, but out of the present fear we have concocted this negative type of loyalty oath. Though loyal Americans are asked to sign them, the oaths assume the possible guilt of the signer by their very nature. The net effect of the loyalty oaths and programs has been to destroy morale, breed suspicion and rumor, and glorify the disgruntled.

The 165th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church affirms the "right of individuals to assert their conscientious objection to military service on the basis of religious conviction." Respecting and reaffirming the stand of our General Assembly we were concerned to learn that a large number of our fellow students feel that those who are conscientious objectors should be deprived of the right to vote. This again, we believe, is another expression of the growing pressure to make everyone conform and thus deny the right of individuals to hold unpopular views.

Nearly every section of the Bill of Rights was threatened by the expressed feelings among these high school students. There is evidence of a fear of Communism and a feeling that we should even avoid or suppress the subject. There is frightening evidence of fascistic tendencies. For instance, nearly half of those questioned believe that large masses of people are incapable of determining what is and is not good for them—a massive rejection of the theory of democratic government. Apparently, many youths are fast becoming “superpatriots.” Although this kind of person believes himself to be patriotic, he is among the first to deny basic freedoms and civil liberties to others.

IT MAY sound as if we are overly excited about what a bunch of high school kids have said, but let me point out another finding of importance. The pupils at the ninth grade level are highly uncertain on many of their responses. By the twelfth grade, this uncertainty has been greatly reduced. This shows that much of the crystallization of one's attitudes occurs during this interval. The attitudes formed are to a large extent dependent upon the educational experiences between the ninth and twelfth grades. This education is crucial in preparing youth for citizenship and may well determine whether democracy is strengthened or weakened in the future.

What about civics and United States government courses in school? Let me quote directly from the report of poll number 30. “The effects of school courses in civics and United States government are among the more interesting and surprising to note. The analysis here is based upon seniors only. Apparently, the study of such subjects in school has little or no constructive effect upon the pupils' attitudes toward the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. In fact, when differences do occur between those who have taken civics and those who have not, those who have had civics are less in agreement with the Bill of Rights than those who have not—three out of four times. This is a curious finding, and several tentative explanations occur to us. It may well be that courses in civics or government concentrate more upon the mechanics of government than upon the values of democracy.”

This indicates the importance of some vital education in the basic values of freedom for our high school students. This need is evidently not being met adequately by the short high school courses in civics as they now exist.

We at National Council were concerned because this lack of understanding of the values of democracy has an undesirable significance to Christians. From a SOCIAL PROGRESS article by Nevin Kendell and Langdon B. Gilkey, our group read and

adopted as a statement of its own conviction the following:

"As Christians we believe God intends man to live in freedom. This can be seen clearly in the way that God deals with his people. Instead of suppressing our evil thoughts and deeds, God has sought to persuade man by the beauty of his love which he has shown us in Jesus Christ. In order to draw us back to himself, God has given even his own Son in the death of the cross. The love with which our Lord came to earth shows beyond question that the God we seek to serve will have no part in the destruction of that free spirit which he himself has created. When we defend the freedom of men to think and speak their own thoughts we are witnessing to the freedom that God has established in the relationship between himself and his creatures."

IN OTHER words, not only in our preparation to be good Americans, but in our preparation to be Christian citizens, we are greatly lacking in an understanding of freedom, civil liberties, and human rights.

We in the citizenship area felt that as a Church, we have a great responsibility to educate ourselves in these Christian ideals. Therefore, we called upon all the media of the Church which reach high school people, and asked them to emphasize the understanding of these values. We feel it is vital that a stress be put

on this educational need in our camps and conferences and at such levels of our Westminster Fellowship program as the National Assembly. We think it urgent that such topics be included and made available to high school students as is being done in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. We made recommendations to the editors of our curriculum and *Kit* materials to include specific studies of this kind, and we urge local groups to utilize to the fullest extent the material previously provided by these sources. We are certain that if an effort is made, we can do much to clear up the misunderstanding and fear that threatens to become more prevalent.

Everyone should be concerned about filling this educational void among our high school pupils. Your concern is important. As Abraham Lincoln said in an address in 1864, "The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one." As shown by the high school concepts lifted from this poll, our present connotations of the word "liberty" imply hysteria, witch-hunting, character-lynching, growing intolerance, fear and suppression of ideas, and dictatorial attempts to control and thus menace our freedom. It is urgent that we correct our concepts of freedom, civil liberties, and human rights. The place to start is with the education of our high school youth.



# Race in Colleges

By SARAH LONGMAN

WESTMINSTER Fellowship National Council is well aware that the goal of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.—“a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society”—is far beyond our practices as a Church and as individuals within the community. In the summer of 1952, therefore, we undertook to face this issue as it affects those of us who are students and tried to do something about it.

During the previous year, the student Christian citizenship program area chairman, Billie Blakeley, sent questionnaires to all the forty-four Presbyterian colleges and the 114 Presbyterian student centers, asking whether they admitted students of minority groups. The nine young people of this program area sat down together at Lake Forest, Illinois, to face the facts revealed by the survey. And the facts were not all in accordance with the Church's goal of non-segregation.

It was clear that twelve of the Presbyterian colleges flatly refused to admit students of minority groups and that in several states the colleges and student centers were required (or believed they were required) by their state legislatures to adopt a policy of segregation.

But there were also intangible attitudes behind the facts. The reply from one student center was that there was no problem there as there were no students of minority groups on that campus! Perhaps their problem is so great that they cannot see it. One of our colleges admits minority group young people but discourages them because they are so “lonely.” These answers and the attitudes they reflected shocked us, and for a moment made us feel superior. But then we realized that our work must begin only when *we*, as a group, and as individuals, had become committed to the Christian belief in the universal brotherhood of men under God. We had to begin with an honest look at ourselves. We had to look for our motives in wanting to eradicate discrimination in our colleges.

**If our motives were wholly** those of glorifying Westminster Fellowship National Council and ourselves, then we knew our work would be meaningless. Only out of devotion to a higher principle than self-glory—the oneness of all men who call Christ Lord—could we write a statement of our belief: “We the members of Westminster Fel-

lowship National Council of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., affirm our faith in God as the Father of one family of men. We further affirm that God has loved us beyond our ability to receive his love. We honestly and humbly confess that we have not shared God's love with our fellow men and realize that our failure to do so stands in the way of our expressing his divine plan for mankind."

And out of our commitment also came further study and conclusions. We studied our General Assembly's stand on segregation and discovered that it not only adheres to the general principle of nonsegregation, but that the Board of Christian Education specifically states racial inclusion as one of the criteria for recognition as a Presbyterian college in the future. We knew that we were not fighting against the Church; we were working within our Church to help to achieve its own stated goals.

We carefully studied the various local situations, realizing that each college and each student center, even in the same region, has a unique program, unique interests, and unique difficulties to face. We saw that some colleges were hemmed in by state laws of discrimination; some had to contend with alumni, some with prospective contributors of badly needed funds, and others with trustees who favored segregation. Other schools, which had opened their doors, found that many of their

minority group students had been forced to attend inferior secondary schools and therefore suffered in academic standing. Some of the student centers were unable to carry out their policy of racial inclusiveness because the minority students on campus were neither Presbyterian nor members of any other Church. These were but a few of the difficulties that faced young people who sincerely wanted a total educational experience.

**What was National Council's answer?** We knew that segregation could not be broken in one year, but we knew we should have to begin to work if it were ever to be broken. We drafted letters to all the groups and individuals concerned within the Presbyterian Church's program of higher education: the president of the College Union, the presidents of Presbyterian colleges, the Student Christian Associations in those colleges, the president of the Association of Presbyterian University Pastors, and the chaplains and moderators of all Westminster Foundations.

We told of our concern over agencies of the Church denying the oneness of Christian fellowship, our stand that segregation in colleges and student centers is neither Christian nor educationally sound; commended those who had already taken measures toward including students from all groups; and chal-

lenged the others to make their fellowships inclusive.

The replies to our letters were varied. One challenged the accuracy of our statistics, refusing to believe the problem was so widespread. Another told us that that college had already taken steps to end segregation and now had an integrated student body, while still another told of the opposite problem of being founded as a Negro school and having difficulty enrolling Caucasian students.

**But the most complete report** came from one member of a group of students who were working to open their school to all people. She related how the issue had been discussed and dismissed many times and how our letters had brought the issue to a head and had encouraged the students in their work. A vote was put to the student body, which overwhelmingly agreed to become inclusive. The faculty were asked to register their opinions, and the large majority concurred. The president was approached and replied that the decision was in the hands of the trustees. The trustees were polled but would have none of it. The students called on the trustees individually and put their case before them. But the trustees would not yield. The issue is not dead at this college, however, for the students are determined to win their case and will not be discouraged in their efforts. If the de-

votion of these students to their task is any indication, this college will have an inclusive student body in the not too distant future.

These were the replies which were discussed and evaluated when Westminster Fellowship National Council met at Parkville, Missouri, in 1953. Letters had been sent and replies had been received. What was to be done now? The first letters had been general, and it was evident that the next letters must deal with more specific situations. Letters were drafted and sent: to the Student Christian Associations in segregated colleges, asking the particular causes and reasons for continuing discrimination and whether the students wanted National Council to send letters to trustees, alumni, or others; to the Student Christian Associations of nonsegregated Presbyterian colleges, asking them to take their place in witnessing to Christian brotherhood within their colleges' communities; to the moderators and directors of Westminster Foundations on campuses (now segregated) (usually by state law) asking their groups to pray for and encourage those who were in situations that could more easily be changed and challenging them to find a way of working toward changing the laws in their states; to the moderators and directors of Westminster Foundations on nonsegregated campuses, asking whether there were Presbyterian or unchurched members of minority

groups on their campuses who should be in their fellowships.

We feel confident that as time goes on segregation will be broken down in the colleges and student centers of our Church, though the way will be long and difficult in many cases. Right now, we are working toward inclusive student bodies and inclusive student fellowships. Even when this is accomplished, our work will not be over, for there are other issues

to be faced. What of an integrated faculty and trustees? What of a college president who is hired only on his merit? What is the witness of a campus, for Christian brotherhood, within its community?

This is the story that began in the summer of 1952. But the story is not yet completed, for this is a story that will not end until we realize our goal of a "nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society."

# History of a "Border Incident"

By WILLIAM METCALF

USCC General Assembly, Oxford, Ohio  
September 11, 1952

Dear Jim,

I told you I'd write about this USCC meeting, but knowing my usual letter writing promises, I never thought I'd make it. Something happened this afternoon, though, that made me change my mind.

Let me give you the picture. As you remember, USCC stands for United Student Christian Council and is a sort of federation of the national Church student movements like the Methodist Student Movement and the Lutheran Student Association, not to mention our own Westminster Fellowship, plus the student YMCA and YWCA. This week is USCC's general assembly meeting of about 110 students and staff. So far the sessions haven't been anything to write home about. Most of the discussions have been about our joining the National Council of Churches, and as expected there have been two points of view on it. You could feel the tensions of this issue in all the discussions, and even though it has been in a framework of Christian love, you begin to wonder if we shall ever really get together and do something that will help our corporate witness on the local campuses.

Well, now back to the reason for my letter—something happened. Somebody shoved a catalyst into our midst in the form of a "border incident,"



and all of a sudden everyone here has forgotten our past tensions and is concerned about a common problem.

Here is the way it happened. You know that the USCC is a member of the World Student Christian Federation in the same way as the French Student Christian Movement, or the British or Indian or Dutch SCM's. For this yearly general assembly of USCC we invite fraternal delegates from the SCM's of nearby countries. The only one close enough to attend regularly is the Canadian SCM delegate, and this year they sent us two fraternal delegates, Dick Allen and Bill Willmott. Dick is here and has been taking a good part in the assembly.

The "border incident" concerns Bill. Bill used to be a student at Oberlin College in Ohio. Like a lot of other people, especially students, he was quite a liberal. He did some writing for the school paper, so his views were no secret. After two years there, his visa was not renewed by the United States Immigration Service, apparently because they thought he was influencing his fellow students in a detrimental way. At least that is the reason mentioned in a letter from an Immigration official to a college official. You see, under the present laws they don't have to tell you why you are refused a visa to enter or stay in this country, and they never told Bill. The same thing happened earlier this summer when Bill came down to the States prior to USCC's general assembly.

Well, Jim, that's the story now. I wish I could tell you adequately what this means to us here. You know we talk a lot about the bonds that hold the Christian community together, but I'm not sermonizing when I say that this gang here really feels that this community is broken, because one of us was not allowed to come. I don't want to say anything about the political side of this "incident" now, because frankly I don't know a thing about the immigration laws of our country. I think the whole assembly feels the same way—that the main judgment is on us for being so ignorant of our own political situation. Believe me, I'm going to start finding out.

Sincerely,  
Bill

USCC General Assembly, Oxford, Ohio  
September 13, 1952

Dear Jim,

Thought you'd like to hear how that "border incident" came out. There sure has been a lot of talk the last two days around here about Bill Willmott, the Internal Security Act, and our political responsibility as Christians.

There were some who thought we ought to take very drastic steps and some who thought that, because of our lack of education on the act itself, we ought to do very little. In the end we chose a course that included some protest and judgment on our part but shifted most of the burden to the member movements of USCC to study the act and make their own judgments. At any rate, here is the way USCC handled it.

The first thing we did, and properly so, was to recommend that the member movements (which include Westminster Fellowship) undertake serious study of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (HR 9490) and then make their own statements of protest regarding the exclusion of Bill Willmott and their own considered judgments of the act. They then voted to send Willmott's statement and other pertinent information to several social action committees. A very carefully worded statement was prepared and directed to be sent to the social action committees of the member movements and their churches, to the Attorney General, to committees of Congress concerned, and to several miscellaneous committees and magazines.

Further, USCC is using this whole "incident" in its life to stimulate its political conscience. We are now in the process of political conversation with the Canadian and French SCM's. Both of these SCM's as well as USCC are deeply concerned with our political responsibilities as Christian students within our own countries.

That's the story, Jim. I'm anxious to see how this incident affects WF. Maybe at last we Presbyterian students will wake up to our political ignorance. I sure hope our own gang back at the student center takes hold of this study.

Sincerely,  
Bill

Evanston, Ill.  
February 7, 1953

Dear Jim,

Here's another installment on that "border incident" I wrote you about last summer. At a meeting here this week end of Westminster Fellowship National Council executives, I met Sarah Longman, who is the national chairman for the citizenship program area, or commission, as we call it. She is the co-ordinator for various campus WF groups that have study units on the Internal Security Act. There are approximately a half dozen campuses spotted around the country that were requested to do the special study. I can tell you about only three of them now.

*November, 1953*

At the University of Illinois, McKinley Foundation, the request to become a pilot group in this study came in the middle of an already full study program, but the students worked hard and found one small study unit that was willing to tackle it. At the University of Arkansas a couple of law students and another grad student spearheaded a group of about six or eight, which I hear is really doing some serious study on the act. At Hanover College, some students have gotten together and enlisted the aid of a history prof to help them study it.

According to Sarah this is a rather experimental program for WF nationally. You see, never before have we tried to undertake a common study within WF. As a matter of fact, we haven't had the machinery to co-ordinate such a study so that the benefits of a lot of groups studying the same problem might be used to the best advantage. This summer at the Westminster Fellowship National Council meeting, Sarah and the group that will be working with her in the citizenship program area are going to use the findings and conclusions of all these study groups and try to say something about the act that will be representative of a fairly large segment of Presbyterian students.

Remind me before I go to the WF National Council meeting next summer to write you on how this study all comes out.

Sincerely,  
Bill

WF National Council, Park College, Mo.  
July 7, 1953

Dear Jim,

As I promised, here is the final installment of that "border incident," at least as far as WF is officially concerned. What it has started will, I hope, continue for many years to come.

As you know, Westminster Fellowship National Council is a council of delegates from synod WF's all over the country and is the national study and policymaking body for WF. In the study part we are divided into the regular program areas. The citizenship area, under Sarah Longman, have studied several political and social issues, one of which is the Internal Security Act. They have gone over the act itself section by section and they have used the material from the local campus study groups that I mentioned last time I wrote.

Speaking as a study group of WFNC, they made the following judgments, which you might like to check with the sections of the act as you read it. If

you are as inexperienced as I in reading legal acts, this helps a lot to point out the weak points of the act:

“1. It violates the integrity of the inclusive Christian community. (In the Bill Willmott exclusion case we have an example of this, and there is the possibility of difficulty in visa clearance to the World Council of Churches in 1954.)

“2. It strengthens barriers between nations rather than strengthening friendship. (See sections 22, 1-19, and 24-30.)

“3. It bars persons who have changed their position as well as those who were forced to join totalitarian organizations or who joined before reaching an age of responsibility. (See section 22.)

“4. It embodies the principle that a person is guilty until proved innocent. (See sections 7, 13, 17, and 8.)

“5. It limits freedom of scholarship and instruction. (See section 13E, subheading 4.)

“6. Because of the vague wording of the definitions of affiliation and of Communist-front organizations innocent people may be unjustly penalized. (See sections 3-5.)

“7. By merely expressing certain ideas, organizations and persons can be indicted and judged guilty without any evidence of evil intent in the expression of their ideas. (See sections 22, 4, 14.)

“8. It embodies the principle of guilt by association. (See sections 13, 8, and 3.)”

I don't suppose that the whole study of the act, including the WFNC report just mentioned, will make even a little “pop” in Washington, but there is no doubt in my mind that what has been done this year—the story I've been writing you bit by bit—is one of the most important events in the life of WF. The whole business of Christian students finally taking an interest in what our Government is doing, and rethinking our political responsibility in Christian terms, is something to think about. This could be the beginning of Christian students taking a real part in the community they live in, witnessing to that community that the whole of it—political, social, economic—must recognize the Lordship of the one Jesus Christ, and must see its everyday problems in the light of this Lordship.

Sincerely,  
Bill



# Sanctuary

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## LET US WORSHIP GOD

**Hymn:** "All People That on Earth Do Dwell."

**Confession:**

"My failure to be true even to my own accepted standards;

My self-deception in face of temptation;

My choosing of the worse when I know the better;

O Lord, forgive.

My failure to apply to myself the standards of conduct I demand of others;

My blindness to the suffering of others and my slowness to be taught by my own;

My complacency toward wrongs that do not touch my own case and my oversensitiveness toward those that do;

My slowness to see the good in my fellows and to see the evil in myself;

My hardness of heart toward my neighbors' faults and my readiness to make allowance for my own;

My unwillingness to believe that Thou hast called me to a small work and my brother to a great one;

O Lord, forgive."

—*From A Diary of Private Prayer, by John Baillie. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. Used by permission.*

**Scripture:** Matt. 25: 31-46.

**Hymn:** "Let All the World in Every Corner Sing."

**Intercession and Petition:**

"Let us pray for the students of the whole world. For those who are persecuted and imprisoned for their faith . . .

For those who live in constant fear . . .

For those who are suffering hardship in consequence of war and its effects . . .

For those who are ill. For those who are hungry or cold . . .

For those who are in despair at the collapse of false hopes.

"Let us pray for those who are in authority, that they may know the ultimate authority of Christ . . .

For those who are blinded by this world's success, that they may come to know the love of God . . .

For those who are lonely, that they may find comfort in the gospel.

"Let us pray for those in revolutionary situations, that they may confess their faith in the hour of trial and that they may show forth a true picture of a community in Christ . . .

For those in newly independent countries, that they may seize with zeal the great opportunities open to them to bring their people closer to Christ . . .

For those who have war raging in their countries.

"Let us pray for those of us who distort the truth in the interests of false ideologies . . .

For those who have a vision of their responsibility, that they may be given the wisdom and strength to discharge it effectively.

"Let us pray to God for the student Christian groups throughout the world, that they may be living, worshiping, and witnessing communities in the universities and schools of the world . . .

For all seekers after truth associated with Christian groups, that their minds may be enlightened and their wills strengthened to follow the truth disclosed.

—*World's Student Christian Federation Call to Prayer (abridged).*

"Lord, keep us from being so cloistered during these school years that we become educated to close our eyes to the need about us, trained to believe that the learned are excused from the human struggle, taught that men's wants are met only by agencies or national programs or personal public good will. Rather, may our studies in every field make us more deeply aware of the tragic necessities of history, the responsibility of those with special privilege, and the glory of giving our lives where the battle for justice is the strongest. Thus may it be, O God, that when thou judgest what we have done and left undone, we may be found to have a true appraisal of ourselves, and worthy dependence upon the mediation of Christ our Savior. Amen."

—*From Prayers for Private Devotions in War-Time, by Willard L. Sperry. Harper & Brothers, 1943. Used by permission.*

—*Prepared by Jane Dowell*

# WF "Ecumenical Ambassador"

*As reported by HAROLD VIEHMAN*

Westminster Fellowship students are learning to take seriously the oneness of the world Christian community. To them, this means as much listening as speaking on the part of those of us in the United States. In order that the Christian insights and the social and political concepts of their contemporaries around the world may be more clearly understood, Presbyterian students have arranged to be host to one key student leader each year. During 1952-1953 their "ecumenical ambassador" was Edzard Obendiek, a student in history from Wuppertal, Germany. For 1953-1954 they are host to Julius Gecau, whose home is in Kenya, Africa, and who has spent the past four years studying political science and economics at Ewing Christian College, and Holland Hall, University of Allahabad, India.

The following interview took place at the United Student Christian Council meetings at Evanston, Illinois, in early September. Ken Burris is a 1953 graduate of James Millikin University, a member of the Westminster Fellowship National Council, and officer for education on the World's Student Christian Federation.

**Ken**—Greetings, Julius. We've heard a lot about your coming, and it's good finally to get to meet you. I'm Ken Burris. When did you land?

**Julius**—On July 6. I went directly to Park College for the Westminster Fellowship National Council meeting.

**Ken**—I understand the WF welcomed you with the title "ecumenical ambassador." What does that mean?

**Julius**—As I understand it, I have come to serve as your "ecumenical ambassador," endeavoring to interpret to the American students the social and political changes as they affect Christian students in India and Africa and how those changes also affect Christian students in America. At the same time I shall try

to understand the problems which face you American students.

**Ken**—Brother, we have the problems! I hope you can understand them better than most of us do! There's a lot of talk especially in newspapers these days about our foreign policy in Asia. What do you think of our Asian policy? You've just spent four years in India, haven't you?

**Julius**—Well, first I should like to say that Americans should come to understand that pure diplomats are useless in India. India needs someone like Chester Bowles, people who understand human psychology.

The success of American foreign policy in Asia will depend on the ability of the American Government

to differentiate between nationalism and Communism, and, while helping to avert Communistic tendencies, to try to help the nationalists toward democratic ends. This will mean that America will be more concerned with the welfare of the Asiatic countries rather than trying to use those countries in the cold war.

**Ken**—How about the attitude of the Christian students in India toward Communism?

**Julius**—This is difficult to answer because the Church has not been vocal about social changes. Consequently Communism has attracted a number of Christian students because of its radical program of social action. They don't become Communists because they think Communism is the solution of social injustice, but because the Communist Party has felt the urgency of social change. This, however, leaves the majority of Christian students aware of the threat of Communism, aware of social injustice, and yet unable to act through lack of Church leadership.

**Ken**—But isn't there some sort of student movement? I see World Student Christian Federation articles from members of the Indian Student Christian Movement.

**Julius**—There is the work of the SCM and the Christian Institute in trying to put forward a few challenging projects, not necessarily to combat Communism but to afford an alternative to Communism and thereby

help in social revolution. It is my conviction that the Village Upliftment Service of the Presbyterian Church is a rich field for Christian witness and a means to provide a field of action to youth who are usually attracted to Communism.

**Ken**—I hope you will talk a lot about this on the campuses you visit. Except for a few Indian students on campuses, and the Americans who went to the Travancore conference last Christmas, we really haven't heard much about actual church life in India. But we need help too in knowing what we ought to do about these things. It's one thing to complain about our foreign policy and quite another to try to do anything.

**Julius**—As I see it, they should become better informed about social, economic, and political conditions in other countries, and thereby be able to appreciate the problems of those countries on the human level. They will have to accept the position that America has won in the world without asserting that her social institutions are infallible.

**Ken**—I am glad to have been able to talk to you on your arrival. It will be good to get your judgments after you've been around for a few months and visited some of our dorm buzz sessions. That's where the fellows really give out with their opinions. You'll have a great time with them though. They'll listen to what you have to say, and you can bring them a great deal. All power to you!



# Why I Want Free Speech for My Teacher

By DAVE McPHAIL

**H**IGH school students in America are privileged to attend a free school in a free society. Students and teachers can raise their voices in protest as well as in approval of our nation's policies. This is not true of countries under the Kremlin's thumb. Since the people's state is perfect and can do no wrong it cannot be criticized.

While teachers and students in our country have always had the right to criticize, in recent years there has been a tendency to associate their criticism with the attack from Moscow. Then, through this association and fear there is bred suspicion and finally an infringement on the rights and freedoms we are trying so hard to protect. Such association between the unfair and propaganda attack of the Kremlin and the sincere criticism of a conscientious citizen is the greatest threat to our freedoms.

People who make such associations are a receptive audience for such advertisements as the one that appeared in the October 6, 1952, issue of *Newsweek* magazine. Under a picture of young people leaving school, such as you might see anywhere in America, was this caption: "They're on Stalin and Company's prospect list." The text of the ad ex-

plained that Communists would like to worm their way into our classrooms and we should be on the alert. It went on to say that if parents want to protect their children, they should investigate radical ideas brought home from the classroom. The implication is plain—radicalism and Communism are the same, or nearly so.

**We have an idea** of what Communism is, but what is radicalism? In Russia, Colombia, and Spain what would be considered a radical idea concerning religious freedom? What ideas would seem radical in a town which bragged that a Negro had never spent a night there?

Just recently an educator in a large city in the South was fired from his job by a four to three vote of his school board. It was the school board's perfect right, but it is interesting to note the reasons for the dismissal.

It was not because he had done a poor job but because his loyalty had been challenged two months before by an attorney backed by unidentified persons. An investigation was made into his past activities. His chief sin seemed to be that when he was the chairman of the American

Veterans Committee of California, in 1947, he had not taken a strong enough stand against Communism. Although the four board members who voted for his dismissal stated that they did not think he was a Communist or a Communist sympathizer or a disloyal American, they felt obliged to fire him.

In other words he had become controversial. His loyalty was questioned though his disloyalty was not proved. I wonder if the teachers in this school system will feel immune to such attacks, especially those who might criticize some of America's policies.

Another threat to the freedom of speech and thought for our teachers is the negative loyalty oath required in many places. The dangers in this procedure were recognized by the members of our high school section of the citizenship program at WF National Council last summer. Ronny Roberts tells more about this in his article on page 4.

When you add up these separate incidents, they give considerable weight to a statement I saw recently in an article by Alexander Meiklejohn: "We have become timid and defensive. Unlike our forefathers, we Americans now regard the basic problems of government as having been solved for us by our ancestors. And our chief concern is to protect that ancestral heritage from attacks, domestic and foreign. What we now

demand of men's minds, therefore, is not the independence which creates insight but the conformity which destroys it."

As a responsible citizen, I feel it is necessary to do more than merely express the "right" sentiments against Communism. To counteract Communism in a positive way we must first solve the problems of economic and racial injustice. Our teachers are expected to present these problems in a challenging light instead of trying to explain them away. But what if they are afraid to speak of "problems in America."

**The blame rests not** upon the teachers but upon you and me. If we do not allow the privilege of freedom of expression to those with whom we disagree, we are acting in the manner of the Communist state. One of the first things one discovers about the methods of the Communists when they have taken over a country is that they try to suppress all teaching of religion. All teachers are required to teach the Kremlin's idea of scientific materialism. The leaders realize that their strength lies in the young people growing up in a Communist-controlled godless society. To avoid even the possibility of a similar situation in our country, our schools must be completely free to discuss all aspects of controversial problems. That is why I want free speech for my teacher.

# Christian ACTION

## WFNC ACTS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

"I'm sorry, but we can't serve you at this fountain."

Because of his race, a delegate to the 1953 Westminster Fellowship National Council was refused service at the corner drugstore in Parkville, Missouri. This meant to the delegates as a whole that the integrity of an inclusive Christian community had been violated. It was clear that some stand, some witness, must be made by the National Council in this situation.

Any action that WFNC took had to be in continuity with the ongoing program of the college where we were guests. Park College, in the past few years, decided that the best way it could combat discrimination would be simply to demonstrate the worth, the validity, of an inclusive Christian community—to show that racial integration can work and work best for all members of a community. The college attempts to provide on the campus the necessary facilities for all its students: the dormitories and commons, swimming pool, bowling alleys, bookstore, soda fountain, and worship services. The students of minority groups need not make frequent trips into the

Parkville business center. By way of positive action, the college invites Parkville to share its facilities on a racially inclusive basis. The school offers the Great Books Club, and a day nursery; the swimming pool is opened to all the residents of Parkville at least once a week.

With this ongoing policy in mind, WFNC in plenary session authorized the following recommendation: "We recommend that the moderator appoint a committee to determine and report back what facilities are not available to us and that all of us refrain from accepting privileges that are not available to all people."

The communication of this stand was an experience that set one to thinking. The proprietor of one drugstore was insulted but businesslike, and appeared impervious to any suggested change of policy. The owners of a second drugstore assumed a definitely defensive position: "In a few years our policy against the Negroes may have to change—but not while we have anything to say about it." A third businessman frankly admitted his dislike of racial discrimination. However, he felt that if his restaurant changed

its policy it would be boycotted by the community.

The way WFNC dealt with this incident can be evaluated only in the light of what each delegate does when he returns to his own local community. It is one thing to make a stand with 119 of your immediate associates standing with you, when no real hardship of denial is de-

manded of you, when a person is for only a week a part of the community to which he speaks. It will be another thing, and a far more significant witness, for the individual delegate willingly to deny himself those conveniences which are not available to all race groups, and to take this stand alone if need be.

—Dave Willis

## JUNIOR HIGHS SHOW THE WAY

"But what can we do?" asked a member of the junior high fellowship. The adviser had invited the minister to guide the group in their discussion of race relations on this particular Sunday evening. He began by pointing up some of the issues involved in race prejudice and discrimination. Then he brought the problem to the very back doors of the young people.

As a member of the mayor's newly appointed Community Relations Committee he described the purpose and the work of that board. He related how together with a Negro doctor he had been appointed to interview local store managers in an effort to encourage them to offer employment to qualified colored salespeople. He told of the managers' fear of customer reaction. The minister went on to relate how this same doctor, though qualified, had not been accepted by the local medical association until recently. He told us also that a member of the national staff

of the Girl Scouts of America had been refused a room in both downtown hotels in recent months because of her color.

The young people entered into a lively discussion which touched upon many phases of the problem. Finally one boy, sensing the frustration that so many have felt in the face of a problem of this size, asked, "But what can we do?" It was a good question and one that we had hoped would be asked.

With plans for summer camps and conferences in mind the adviser said, "Why not take several Negro young people to camp with you?" The idea was received with enthusiasm. Someone quickly suggested a way to raise the necessary funds. Why not schedule a variety show? It was agreed upon. The date was set. Tickets were sold in advance and at the door. On the afternoon of the show members of the junior high group arrived carrying precious ship and plane models. Collections of everything



from buttons and shells to pennants and curios were neatly arranged in the church school rooms on tables and bulletin boards. The main show took place that evening in the auditorium upstairs.

Hearing of the purpose of the program, the grade school in the Negro community sent its kindergarten band. The junior high young people presented talents ranging from accordion and piano solos to tap dancing.

The evening was a success, and netted the group enough to send two young people to camp. With the help of several schoolteachers, two junior high boys were selected for this experiment in brotherhood. When the

minister called for the boys at the close of camp, the camp director said: "They were good campers. I hope they will come back next year." A few days later the church received a letter from one of the boys, which read: "Thank you for making it possible for me to go to camp and for bringing me home. I had a wonderful time. I have never had more fun and am hoping I will have a chance to go next year." The junior high fellowship hopes so too; in fact, they want to take four Negro young people next summer. They are certain now that there is something each of us can do to improve race relations.

—J. Alton Cressman

## PRESBYTERIAN STUDENTS WORK TO END DISCRIMINATION

Early in February of 1953, the Student-Faculty Council at Miami University (Oxford, Ohio) received a copy of the widely circulated letter from the student council at Rutgers University. The letter inquired about the problem of segregation, and suggested a plan for united action by students in many colleges toward the removal of discriminatory clauses from the charters, rituals, and/or bylaws of campus organizations.

When the letter was referred to the various fraternities, its suggestions were rejected by a vote of 9-7 with two chapters abstaining. Subsequently, the student-faculty confer-

ence debated the proposal, approved it by a small majority, and voted to submit the question to the entire student body at the time of the spring election.

The social action committee of the Westminster Foundation at Miami followed these developments closely and held weekly discussions of the issues involved. Members of the committee secured a copy of the Rutgers letter and, after careful study, determined to support the plan of the Rutgers student council.

Various reports on campus attitudes revealed that much of the opposition among the students arose

from ignorance of the contents of the letter and from distorted rumors which had spread widely.

In an effort to clarify the question and to encourage a favorable vote in the election, the committee drafted a letter explaining its stand, and with the approval of the majority of the student fellowship, it was printed and distributed to the leaders of all campus organizations and to more than thirteen hundred Presbyterian-preference students.

In the all-campus election, the nonsegregation proposal was approved by more than 64 per cent of

the students who voted. However, the social action committee faced the fact that any further progress beyond this favorable poll of opinion requires additional effort and ought to have an even larger majority of student support. Therefore, the committee outlined a twofold strategy: (1) to continue to try to educate the misinformed, and (2) to explore possible changes in the Rutgers plan to gain the support of numerous students who favor nonsegregation but who opposed the methods suggested by the Rutgers student council.

—Dale Robb

## WF AND SEA JOIN HANDS

As the Kansas citizenship program area chairman, I was confronted with the problem of what I could do to promote Christian citizenship in the synod. An answer to my problem came when I received a letter from the national citizenship program area chairman. In the letter he suggested that the Westminster Fellowship work with the synod social education and action committee.

The first step I took was to contact the chairman of the synod SEA committee. After receiving an encouraging letter from him, I met with the presbytery citizenship program area chairmen at our synod midwinter council meeting. At that time I told them of the possibilities of youth participation in SEA and of the pos-

sibilities of SEA being the source that would help the young people to become informed on the social issues of the day. I also gave them the names and addresses of their presbytery SEA chairmen and suggested that they contact these people and tell them of the interest of the youth in SEA and the desire of the Westminster Fellowship to participate in SEA projects. This program was carried out still farther at our synod assembly with the citizenship adviser being a member of the synod SEA committee.

While this program is still in its early stages, the synod SEA committee has become aware of the interest of the youth and their desire to participate in SEA projects.

—Lois Force

## UN NEWS NOTES

The eighth General Assembly of the United Nations opened in a serious mood due to the many critical problems before it, yet to one who had been at every such meeting since the organizing Assembly, there was only a moderate degree of pessimism and no air of defeatism. No one knew the fate of Korea for which such great sacrifice had been made, but there was a truce and a chance to work toward a fair solution. Perhaps the most important question is whether the responsible leaders and the people behind them will have the understanding and patience to see it through. "Let patience have her perfect work."

**Mme. President**—One of the first acts of the Assembly is to elect officers and appoint chairmen of the main committees (always at least six, sometimes seven, as an *ad hoc* committee is usually named to relieve the Political Committee). Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, president, was chosen by secret ballot according to rule, but it was known that three of the so-called great powers—United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., and U.S.A.—favored her. Some who were there to see her inducted recalled how she had worked at San Francisco, not so much for the United Nations as to impress the representatives of fifty countries of the

justice of India's demand for independence.

Mme. Pandit is one of the Nehru family, friend of Gandhi, and was a fighter for the freedom of India (gained in 1947 along with the independence of Pakistan). She has held important posts in the Government of India, has been ambassador to both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and has led the India delegation to the UN several times since 1946. She presides with dignity, grace, and firmness. There was surprisingly little talk of a woman being elected, but much about her ability and the fact that southeast Asia should have the presidency. Perhaps this great international organization has learned to take seriously the words of the charter: "Without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." Surely the work of the Commission on the Status of Women has helped to interpret this to countries where women have not had the freedom of the Western world.

It is interesting to recall the names and the distribution of other presidents: Paul-Henri Spaak, of Belgium; Oswaldo Aranha, of Brazil; José Arce, of Argentina (special session); Herbert V. Evatt, of Australia; Carlos P. Romulo, of the Philippines; Nasrollah Entezam, of Iran; Luis Padilla Nervo, of Mexico; Lester B. Pearson, of Canada.

Seven vice-presidents are elected, countries rather than individuals being named: United Kingdom, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China, France, Israel, and Mexico. These, together with the chairmen of the main committees, make up a kind of cabinet called the General (or Steering) Committee.

**The Agenda**—The seventy-one items to be considered by the Assembly are varied and very complex. They fall into the general classification of the seven committees: (1) Political and Security, Chm. Fernand Van Langenhove, of Belgium—problems of Korea, South Africa, membership, armaments, atomic energy, to cite a few. (2) Economic and Financial, Chm. Leo Mattes, of Yugoslavia—development of underdeveloped countries, establishment of a special fund for economic development, technical assistance, proposal for an international finance corporation. (3) Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural, Chm. David Davidson, of Canada—questions of race conflict especially in South Africa, Palestine refugees, status of High Commissioner for Refugees (shall this office be continued beyond 1953?). (4) Trusteeship, Chm. Dr. Santiago Perez, of Venezuela—Ewe people in the Togoland, information re non-self-governing areas, Southwest Africa, factors in deciding when people are ready for self-government, Puerto Rico. (5) Ad-

ministrative and Budgetary, Chm. Awni Khalidy, of Iraq—problems of administration, including control of buildings, personnel, and budget. (6) Legal, Chm. Dr. Julius Katz-Suchy, of Poland—progress in development of international law, questions re statelessness, regulation of coastal areas. It is hoped that this brief listing may help those who will try to follow the work of the Assembly by radio, newspaper, *United Nations Reporter* or *United Nations Bulletin*. Sharp debate often comes over agenda items such as: Should the difficult situation in Morocco due to the intervention of France be discussed? (The decision was no); treatment of Indians in South Africa; report of the special committee on forced labor, which is reporting that forced labor is being used for political and economic ends in parts of the world. Is this a domestic question or of world significance?

**U.S. Delegation**—Names of the U.S. delegation should be kept in mind, as they are the ones to whom anyone may write to express a conviction or urge any action. Address 2 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.: Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.; former Secretary of State James Byrnes; Mrs. Frances Payne Bolton; James P. Richards; Archibald Carey. All those named in these notes plus leaders of all delegations should be on our prayer list.

—Mabel Head, *UN Observer*



## ★ *Citizenship* ★

✕ **The new Chief Justice—** Paramount on the Washington scene, as we go to press, has been the swearing in of former Governor Earl Warren of California as the new Chief Justice of the United States. He is the fourteenth person named to this position, and his appointment has in general been well received.

Though he comes to the bench without previous judicial experience, it is felt that his long and distinguished tenure as district attorney, state attorney general, and thrice-term governor of California, ably qualify him for this high post. Some of his most famous predecessors in this office likewise came to the position without previous judicial experience, chief among them John Marshall.

Chief Justice Warren's reputation for honesty and integrity will stand him—and the nation—in good stead as he takes over this second highest position in our government. He has said that he is putting personal and party politics behind him for the rest of his life. As further indication of the spirit in which he is approaching his new responsibilities he said, "If through the years [the Court's] work is well done, the home of every American will always be his castle, every human life will have dignity, and there will forever be one law for all."

The new Chief Justice is on record on many public questions, which indicates the basic philosophy with which he approaches his new assignment. He has said that he believes the American people are for social progress but not socialism. He believes that state and local solutions of large public problems are desirable whenever possible since this keeps "government" close to the people. He is on record in favor of some type of compulsory health insurance. He opposed President Roosevelt's "Court-packing" proposal and praised the Court for overriding President Truman in the steel industry seizure. Some revision of the Taft-Hartley law and an "effective" fair employment practices commission are among other measures he has advocated. While deploring evidences of Federal laxity in weeding out subversives, he has, nevertheless, been highly critical of some of the methods employed by Congressional committees.

**There are some four hundred cases** on the docket awaiting hearing in this session of the Court. Probably no matter is of more national significance than the cases relating to segregation in the public schools. There are five of these cases wherein the major question is whether separate, but equal, school facilities for Negroes and whites are permitted

under the Constitution. The parents of Negro pupils in Delaware, District of Columbia, Kansas, South Carolina, and Virginia have asked the Supreme Court to rule that compulsory segregation violates the Constitution. At the present time, an 1896 decision holding segregation to be permissible if equal facilities are provided is accepted as the law of the land.

The last term of the Supreme Court heard arguments on these cases last December. However, after six months of closed conferences they ordered a reargument of the cases in this term of the Court and invited the Attorney General of the United States to participate. The Court set forth specific questions which it wanted answered. In substance, these are: Did the framers of the fourteenth amendment intend that it would abolish segregation in the schools or did they contemplate that Congress might later pass laws abolishing this; does the Supreme Court have the power to abolish segregation and, if so, is a "gradual adjustment" valid under the law. At this writing, the rearguments are set to begin on December 7.

Other cases of wide interest in this present session of the Court are civil rights matters involving actions in which Negroes are seeking unrestricted use of golf courses in Texas, theaters in Kentucky, and swimming pools in Kansas City.

The Federal gambling laws are under attack in other cases up for review. The claim is made that Federal laws in such cases cannot be applied to gambling machines or devices which are for intrastate use only. The Federal Government is contesting this. Then there is a Maryland case wherein a state law allows gamblers to be convicted in certain counties on evidence illegally obtained. The appeal here is on the basis of "equal protection" and "due process."

The constitutionality of the Federal Lobbying Act will come up for interpretation also. Several individuals are claiming that the law violates freedom of speech and the right of petition in that conviction for failure to register under the act carries with it the prohibition against any attempt to influence legislation in the future.

There are a number of cases relative to the Taft-Hartley Law which will be up for attention. One of these revolves around conflicting decisions in two lower courts over the question of whether this law "prevents a union from denying work to members as a means of union discipline."

The foregoing are only a few of the many important constitutional issues which Chief Justice Warren and the present session of the Court must rule upon. In most instances the decisions will be of far-reaching importance to everyone of us.

—Helen Lineweaver

# About Books

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**Youth Fellowship Kit**, Vol. 11, edited by Nevin E. Kendell. The Westminster Press. \$3.00.

*Youth Fellowship Kit*, Vol. 11, is now available and can make a tremendous contribution to every local church Westminster Fellowship program. The *Kit* is a compilation of program material and specific resources prepared especially for senior high young people to aid them in program planning. However, the *Kit* is not a year's "canned" program to be used from cover to cover, but rather an aid and a resource, which is made available because there is great need for just such a collection of material to help make the Church's ministry to youth vital.

Readers of **SOCIAL PROGRESS** would be especially interested in the citizenship program area topics. Volume 11 contains five such topics written on pertinent social problems: "Is American Youth Accepting Responsibility?" "Free Speech and Free Schools," "It's the Brain That Counts," "If You Were a Union Member," "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?"

If every group would use one or two of these topics, a new consciousness of the Christian and the basis

for his concern with social problems would be realized. Material of this kind will help in giving youth a better understanding of God and thus a faith which is adequate for the world's many problems.

—V. Bruce Rigdon

**The Churches and the UN**, by Walter Van Kirk. Issued by the Department of International Justice and Goodwill, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. 15 cents.

The United Nations, which had been created "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," has turned into a scapegoat for the frustrated. Walter Van Kirk does not mention only the success of the UN; he believes that a true picture can be seen only if both failures and achievements are discussed.

Dr. Van Kirk begins his discussion with the failures of the United Nations and then tells of its many accomplishments.

In concluding, Dr. Van Kirk asks: "Is the United Nations, then, deserving of the continuing support of the churches?" He answers his question by saying that "the UN, on the political level, is mankind's best hope for peace. But for the United Na-

tions, a third world war might even now be under way."

This pamphlet is recommended for use by study groups or individuals wishing to gain an insight into the problems of the UN.

—Richard C. Johnson

**Junior-Hi Kit**, No. 10. The Westminster Press. \$2.50.

*Junior-Hi Kit*, No. 10, has some excellent contributions for building programs around the Christian citizenship program area in your local junior high Westminster Fellowship.

Here we find the article "Is the Church in Danger?" The Church in China is the subject. It explains why Christian missionaries were forced to leave China and how we, as members of the Church, are affected by Communism.

The problem of racial discrimination and prejudice comes to light in the story "Taught to Hate," a part of the topic "Popularity Pete." A Negro mother was shocked to discover her daughter has been taught to hate "white peoples" in school. The use of the folk songs in the *Kit* will promote a deeper understanding of various social problems.

"The Christian and His Community" presents an opportunity for junior highs to discover, by actually working on a series of community projects with their parents and advisers, what future part they will play in the community as Christians.

—Tommie Earnest

**Loyalty in a Democracy**, A Roundtable Report, edited by Maxwell S. Stewart. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 179. 25 cents.

In a time when the heretofore little questioned loyalty of American citizens is brought into such glaring focus, this thirty-two page pamphlet is helpful in revealing the implications of, and offering some solution to, our loyalty problem.

The pamphlet points out that the fear of entrusting positions of importance to people who supposedly have "subversive" views has whipped up distrust, thus calling for loyalty oaths and the denouncing of public servants. This situation poses a challenge from inside our democracy as great as the Communist-Fascist threat coming from the outside.

A careful study of the pamphlet will point out the wisdom of trying to strengthen the democratic structure of the country by giving greater freedom and greater responsibility to the individual citizen. This would give democracy a clearer meaning, thereby creating a greater sense of loyalty that is needed in these critical times.

—Gilman Wildes

**Where'er the Sun**, by Samuel Hugh Moffett. Friendship Press. \$1.25.

*Where'er the Sun* is a most frank and informative account of the ecu-



menical Church in action. It tells what our Christian responsibility is to the world today.

A Jamaican woman ceased to contribute to foreign missions after three years of faithful giving. "So many years I give to convert the world," is her plea of despair. Almost one third of the world calls itself Christian—400,000,000 out of a population of 2,377,400,000. What of the other two thirds?

We are moving forward. India's Sundar Singh became a Christian three days after he publicly burned the Bible. Truly following Christ, Sundar Singh was led into Tibet to his death, but his converts were among the first Christian Tibetans.

The Church in Europe still reels from the blow World War II dealt, but it is the mainstay of most of the people. Hitler vowed to destroy the Church, yet Hitler is gone and the Church remains.

The Protestant Church's fight in South America is to help to bring millions of people out of filth, disease, and unhappiness into the light of Christianity.

How can we help Christ to reign in the whole world when there are people in our own country who can still ask, "Who is Jesus?" No one has told them. Sometimes our own back yard is God's mission field for us.

—Marguerite Hall

**Alcohol and Christian Responsibility**, by Clifford Earle. Order from Presbyterian Distribution Service. 65 cents.

"Alcohol is a problem because of what happens to people when they drink. The fact that *people* are affected makes the alcohol problem a matter of concern for Christians." This is the beginning of an excellent booklet dealing with the current problems of alcohol. Throughout, we find an attitude that is both scientific and Christian toward drinkers, why they drink, what their problems are, and how we can help them.

The author clears up the fallacy that we condone drinking when we have compassion for the alcoholic as a sick person, and provide modern scientific treatment. In working toward a solution, he presents a short history of temperance movements and prohibition and then moves on to present-day liquor traffic control. In conclusion he states: "The use of alcoholic beverages constitutes one of America's most serious and pervasive problems. It is an issue that cannot be ignored. Too long have too many churches temporized and dodged their responsibilities. We must now accept our Christian responsibility, taking the steps that will lead us to the high goals of sobriety and righteousness."

—Len Fielding

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

## Presbyterian Heritage

THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is sponsored by the Division of Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and the Department of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The theme of this joint issue of our magazine is our Presbyterian tradition in social witness.

Several months ago a committee representing the two Churches prepared a statement of the Reformed Faith in relation to social concern and action. This statement was approved by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. It is printed in full on page 23 of this magazine. We are reminded in the statement that Presbyterians believe in the relevance of Christian faith to social relations. In this tradition our Churches have ever dared to speak out against every evil thing that hinders and degrades personality and to uphold everything good that affirms a man's dignity and worth.

The duty of Christians to engage in social action based on Scriptural authority is an integral part of the constitutions of our two Churches. Read the section of the Larger Catechism that deals with the Ten Commandments—Questions 98 to 143. Here the social responsibilities of Christians are clearly outlined. These truly are social action pronouncements, not of the General Assembly, but adopted as a part of the basic law of the Church to be subscribed to by all its ordained officers. This document was prepared by the Westminster Divines as a manual to be used by pastors in the instruction of their people.

## Manifesto on Freedom

A HISTORIC letter addressed to Presbyterian ministers and members of local congregations was released by the General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. on November 3.

The letter begins with a reference to the joint statement of the Reformed Faith in relation to social witness to which reference

already has been made. Then the letter goes on to discuss certain issues in our national life and in the international sphere relating to Communism.

The importance of the Presbyterian document was underlined in an editorial in *The New York Times* on November 4. Following are two paragraphs from this editorial.\*

"A more profoundly anti-Communist document could hardly be imagined. But instead of merely denouncing the iniquities of international Communism, which is the easiest thing in the world to do, the Council has with clarity and with courage pointed to some of the traps into which the American people are in danger of falling as they struggle to preserve the world and themselves from the Communist menace."

"The Presbyterian statement makes the exceedingly important point and one too often overlooked that out of this atmosphere there is growing up an approach to Communism that is 'purely negative.' This 'fanatical negativism,' being 'totally devoid of a constructive program,' fails to offer an adequate answer to the false but glittering enticement of Communism. On the theory that the end justifies the means, this negativistic approach leads 'subtly and silently' to an undermining of truth and helps the demigod come into his own 'on a national scale.'"

The *Times* editorial goes on to say that "Communism, as the Presbyterians point out, is committed on principle to a philosophy of lying and false witness; but these are dangerous and immoral weapons that democracy cannot afford and has no need to employ."

The Presbyterian document deserves to be read by every American interested in really combating Communism. It points out clearly some of the dangers inherent in some of our present-day methods of stemming Communist influence in American life.

## Concerning Christmas Parties

WE HEARTILY endorse campaigns under way in many communities to eliminate alcoholic beverages from Christmas parties in homes and offices. Attention is directed especially to the many bad consequences of the use of liquor at Christmas parties in business offices. Business executives are being reminded of their responsibility in this matter.

A good tool in the effort against Yuletide drinking has been provided by

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\* Used by permission of *The New York Times*.

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the National Temperance League in the form of Christmas stamps which can be affixed to Christmas cards and letters. The stamps are attractive and modest in design. They bear the legend "Let's Put Christ Into Christmas." In one corner appears an appropriate Christmas scene. In the opposite corner are pictured some liquor bottles and glasses with a big "X" superimposed. A sheet of fifty stamps may be secured from the National Temperance League, 131 Independence Avenue, S. E., Washington 3, D. C., for as little as 25 cents. In quantities of one hundred sheets the stamps cost only 5 cents a sheet. Let's put Christ into Christmas.

## Presbyterians at Cleveland

PRESBYTERIANS were well represented in the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order held in Cleveland, October 27-30, 1953. The United Presbyterian Church of North America, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. provided fifty or more of the four hundred delegates who composed the conference. The Presbyterian delegations were outstanding for the way they participated in all parts of the conference, especially in the closing plenary sessions when action was taken on the conference message and on the various study documents that the conference produced.

On each of the three mornings of the conference the combined Presbyterian group met for breakfast and fellowship. When Presbyterians get together from all parts of the country and from our three denominations, they really look and talk alike.

## Invitation to Washington

A CHURCHMEN'S WASHINGTON SEMINAR will be held on February 23-26, 1954. This is an opportunity for church men (and women) to observe their Government in Washington. The seminar is sponsored jointly by the social relations departments of several co-operating denominations. Since the seminar is limited in size, it is important for all who are interested to get their names in early. For information, write to the Division of Christian Relations, 712 Henry Grady Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia (Presbyterian, U.S.), or to the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania (Presbyterian, U.S.A.).

—*Malcolm Calhoun and Clifford Earle*



# A Message from the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.

By FRANK WILSON PRICE

**T**HIS joint issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is fine evidence and expression of the growing understanding and co-operation between our two communions.

There are so many good causes in which we should unite. There are so many evil forces against which we should unite.

We have the same Bible with its prophetic and truly revolutionary teachings. We have the same wonderful heritage of our Reformed Faith. We have the same concerns about the society, nation, and world.

**Christians of America** do not realize how much their social ideas and attitudes are conditioned by their distinctive history and environment and their special way of life. Now that religious believers number sixty per cent of our population it is more difficult than ever for Christians here to see their own society, national culture, economic order, and moral standards as other peoples see us or as Christ would judge us.

The way forward from complacency, indifference, or self-deception will not be by more resolutions in denominational courts or inter-church assemblies. The Christian

conscience in America must become more sensitive. A strong Christian public opinion must develop through vital and relevant evangelism and Christian education. We need a larger number of dedicated and disciplined religious fellowships, and of creative adventures in Christian social living.

It is easy to criticize Christians in other lands who succumb to totalitarian pressures. Let us remember the majority who are standing firm in their Christian faith and character. With humility let us confess our blindness and weakness at times before powerful social pressures and prejudices. Is there no danger in America of the Church's being smothered by its surrounding culture? Is the Church here never used or influenced or intimidated by selfish interests or political authority? Do we not trust too much in legislation for social reform and too little in reform through regeneration of persons, families, and communities? Not just through more church members, but through truer Christians will we move on toward our goal of a Christian society.

The works of Karl Marx contain a scathing indictment of Christianity

in which he denounced Christian social principles as "lick spittle." Christians look with anxiety today upon a world in ferment. The turbulent world is looking at Christians to see whether our Christian social principles, our Christian gospel for men and society, our Christian motivation for social progress, are mere empty phrases and weak palliatives

or whether they possess convincing truth and power.

No man liveth unto himself. No church liveth unto itself. From the Christian temples of America may there flow forth, as in Ezekiel's vision, an ever-rising stream of living waters, to cleanse and heal and make fruitful the society and world of our time.

## Messages from the Chairmen

THOSE of us who were privileged to participate in the joint meeting on social education and action of the Presbyterian U.S. and U.S.A. Churches were proud—not of ourselves, but of the significance of the occasion. We were meeting, although unofficially, for the first time in the long history of our two Churches. We felt in common the urgency of the task laid upon us. We sensed anew how broad was the field of our understanding and how few our points of difference. A wonderful sense of Christian fellowship prevailed. Many of us hoped that we were precursors of a larger fellowship which would bring a united witness to bear on our common concerns.

I would not presume to speak for everyone present, but I believe we were made mindful of our single heritage in the Church of Christ, the

Reformation, and the Presbyterian system. As citizens of a land blessed of God, the social, economic, and political problems that confront us are problems of mutuality. The world is too small, the peril to life and liberty too great for us to think of ourselves as Christians north or south, east or west. In John Donne's famous figure, "the bell tolls" for each of us and all of us, for "no man is an Iland, intire of it selfe."

Our two committees came together as friends; we parted as brothers in Christ, in whom there is "no South or North." If by our meeting we helped to illustrate that "one great fellowship of love," then our meeting was not in vain. God grant that our two communions may match the heat and passion of our day by the fire of Christ's Spirit and the passion of his love.

—George T. Peters, Chairman, Committee on Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

December, 1953

WHEN in 1943 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., postponed for five years further consideration of the plan of union with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., it declared its approval of a policy of exploring in the interval "avenues of co-operation" with the sister body.

Following this wise declaration of policy has proved rewarding indeed to the Council of Christian Relations of the Southern Church. Along the "avenue" we have formed many friendships with those likeminded with us in the field of Christian relations and holding in common with us the historic conviction that religion is relevant to all of life. In our conferences we have received many helpful suggestions.

—George H. Wright, Chairman, Council of Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church, U.S.

From the meeting in Philadelphia last February of our group with the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action of the Northern Church came a joint statement of the Reformed Faith in relation to social concern and action.

Now by reason of the very gracious invitation of the publishing body we are privileged to participate in a jointly edited issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

For all of this we are deeply grateful. We believe that God has been guiding us. Our hope and our prayer is that on the basis of our common convictions we may more and more find channels for effective co-operation to the end that Presbyterians may increasingly seek to know and to do the will of God.

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### Points for Preachers—Two Texts on Freedom

In all the confusion of tongues these days, the word "freedom" frequently covers a multitude of sins. It has become a shibboleth in the mouth of radical and reactionary alike.

Sometime you might want to bring together two suggestive texts, the union of which should prove fruitful. The first is from Judg. 21: 25 (the closing sentence of the book, characterizing the whole narrative): "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes." \* The second is the familiar one from John 8: 32: "And you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free."

Question 1—What does the "freedom" which permits everyone to do as he pleases lead to? (Read The Book of Judges.)

Question 2—Did Jesus say, "You will be free and therefore know the truth," or rather, "You will know the truth and therefore be free"?

Question 3—How does one learn "the truth" about anything?

—H. B. Sissel

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\* Scripture quotations in this publication are from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, copyright, 1946 and 1952, by the National Council of Churches and are used by permission.

# The Reformed Faith and Social Action

By JOSEPH HAROUTUNIAN, *Professor of Theology, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois*

THE Reformed Faith is characterized commonly by the doctrines of the sovereignty of God and of election. Although such a characterization is all too brief and the doctrines in question are easily misunderstood, it is nevertheless true that they point to a type of Christianity which is the contribution of the Reformed Churches to the Church Universal.

## The Sovereignty of God

The doctrine of God's sovereignty means that the life and destiny of man is in the hands of God, who is Lord over all that he has created and who governs all by his goodness, wisdom, and power. God, who turned the defeat of the cross into a victory over the powers of darkness, is a God against whom no evil devised by the devil and men shall prevail. The Word of God become a man in Christ Jesus and the Spirit of God by whom God has vanquished the enemies of his people through the ages—these "two hands of God" will break down every structure made up of lies and inhumanity. Jesus Christ, who is truth, and the Spirit of truth shall win God's battles until victory. This victory is man's true hope, since no power is a match against his Creator.

The sovereignty of God is a man's true comfort in life and in death. It is his hope and his health. It is the ground of a sane and rational existence in the midst of the temptations and perils that beset human life. It is the only true antidote to the fears and anxieties that have their original source in the creature's subjection to the power of ambition and rebellion against God.

Problems of freedom and community, difficult enough when men are of a sound mind, become hopeless when men become mad in the grips of sin and despair. Without the knowledge of the sovereignty of God the Father, the turmoil in the human soul makes the good life a precarious ideal. The ground of human freedom to live by love and justice is the sovereignty of God. This is the first insight which the Reformed Faith must contribute toward a basic efficacy in "social action."

## The Meaning of Election

The man who adheres to the Reformed Faith, for whom to know God is salvation, life, and good, has no fear of the devil, hell, the world, wrath, or any other power. The doctrine of election is the Calvinist answer to that religious



self-preoccupation which always corrupts the worship of God. The chief business of the Christian as he lives from day to day is not to save his skin, however piously regarded, but to cleave to God and to serve God in the Church and in the world.

The Christian is a man called of God, delivered from the powers that would destroy him, and placed among the people of God for the doing of the will of God. Hence a self-centered, albeit religious, preoccupation with one's own "salvation" is alien to the temper of the Reformed Faith. As an elect of God, as one who can well trust his fate to the Creator, a Christian's chief business is to live in the freedom of obedience to God, to the law of God as given in the great commandment. The essence of election is the freedom of the Christian man to "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with . . . God." Men who are blessed with such a freedom are the elect of God.

### **The Community of God's People**

Another characteristic of the Reformed Faith which needs special notice in view of our subject is the doctrine of the Church as "the elect of God." The doctrine of election is eminently favorable to a doctrine of the Church as a community of men equal before God and to the view of obedience as exercised in a social context. Religion as a "way of salvation" is not necessarily a commu-

nity affair, and may well occur in one's solitude and without reference to the common life of a people. Faith, on the other hand, which must express itself in freedom for and obedience to God in a given situation is necessarily expressed in the love of the neighbor, the neighbor being any member of the community in which one exists.

Hence the Reformed Faith, whether in Geneva or in America, has meant "social action," the quest for a "holy commonwealth" by bringing the political life of a people in line with the law of God. It is no accident that the churches in America have had a conscious and direct concern with increase of the common well-being of the people. The elect belong to a people, and the total life of the people is under the law of God.

### **The Law of God**

The Reformed Faith has no antipathy to the law of God. This law is God's own provision for the guidance of God's servants in the fulfillment of their opportunities for obedience. It binds a man firmly to his neighbor and to his community and directs his way toward a life of integrity and well-being.

The Ten Commandments as understood through the great commandment are clear enough to show us our way and broad enough to be applied to our common life as its requirements change according to

God's providence. The law of God requires, as the Reformers knew so well, an intelligent flexibility in contexts which are new and demand a new manner of obedience. It being understood that the end of the law of God is the peace and well-being of his people under God, obedience requires an intelligent and effective pursuit of these ends through action congruous with a given need.

In the Reformed Churches, with the precedents of Calvin, Knox, and Witherspoon behind us, and with the pronouncements of the General Assembly before us, there can be no hesitation in the exercise of our political responsibilities toward the fulfillment of the law of God through "social action." Political indifference and inaction is a repudiation of election and disobedience to God which exposes us to the wrath of God, and leads only to the disruption of community and the misery of God's people.

### **The Providence of God**

Finally, we must speak of the providence of God. The doctrine of providence occupies a place of special prominence in the Reformed Faith. Coupled with the doctrine of divine sovereignty, it has been the source of comfort and courage to the Reformed Churches since the beginning.

"God, the great Creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all creatures, actions,

and things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most wise and holy providence, according to his infallible foreknowledge, and the free and immutable counsel of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy" (Confession of Faith, Ch. V, Sec. 1).

The elect of God, exposed to the uncertainties and perils of this life, faced with powers and principalities bent upon their undoing, in France, in New England, in Eastern Europe, everywhere, and in every age, have received not only courage but also illumination from the doctrine of God's providence.

This doctrine requires a special application in our time. The great and terrible problems of our day, with tyrannies and revolutions and perils of death and destruction, are not the works of a prince of darkness holding sway in spite of our God. They are there by the providence of God, by his righteousness and wisdom and power. While we are beset by foes to the left and to the right, and are beside ourselves with fears and perplexities, we are nonetheless under God's protection and are given an opportunity to show ourselves faithful to the living God. The fury of the devil and all his works of evil are but an occasion for obedience in faith and hope. We are to stand firm in the knowledge of God and of God's omnipotence in Christ Jesus. We are to resist temptation and to

overcome evil. We are to seize our present opportunity with imagination and courage, and we are to do God's will according to his present providence.

We are troubled and are at our wits' end about Russia and Communism, about uprisings and revolutions in Asia, Africa, and elsewhere, about political conflicts in Europe, about tensions and perils at home, about weapons of destruction which could wipe out cities and civilizations. We are tempted to imagine ourselves as a righteous people surrounded by wicked powers, and to forget the providence of God, who disposes and governs all creatures according to his will and wisdom, for their good and his glory. But this is not the right way. It will in the end destroy us. Our business is with God. We are to fear God rather than men, and in the love of God we are to love our neighbor as ourselves.

By the providence of God, through the advent of "the power age" and the political upheavals of this century, a new world is in the making—a world in which peoples and na-

tions, now the miserable of the earth, shall have a new freedom, well-being, and self-respect. All this is by the providence of God, "to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy." It is also the opportunity of God's elect to obey him and to serve him, according to his will and purpose. But it is obvious that obedience to God and service to God, with faith and hope and thankfulness, means, today, "social action"—political decision and social action which shall bring about a new day of freedom from poverty, disease, ignorance, oppression, and every evil which disfigures humanity and makes peace in the world precarious, if not impossible.

The Reformed Faith with its peculiar regard for the sovereignty of God, for humanity as election, for the knowledge of God, for love with justice as the law of God, and for the providence of God as our opportunity for obedience and peace—this faith requires "social action" as our responsibility and our intelligent service of God, who is our only hope in life and in death.

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*The United Nations and Our Religious Heritage*, by Justin Wroe Nixon, is a new and useful interpretation of how our Judaeo-Christian teachings and traditions have been expressed in the purpose and program of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. It deals with God's sovereignty and man's common humanity and points up what churches can do to strengthen the UN and dilute the influence of its attackers. Pertinent questions for study accompany each chapter. Order from Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York 21, N. Y. 50 cents.

# The Church's Unfinished Business

By MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary of the Division of Christian Relations, Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church in the U. S.*

THE "salt of the earth" has not fully permeated any of the areas of life in which man finds himself today. Indeed, it should be admitted that the Church may never arrive at such perfection in the social order of this world, and yet our faith seems to say that this must always be a goal of the Church.

There are some areas of responsibility which have yet to be entered by the Church as a whole with a definite program, but we can only draw attention to them in this article. In these areas are such problems as alcoholism, a problem directly confronting an estimated four million people in America and indirectly confronting several million more. In a land where some sixty-five million people may be listed as occasional drinkers, this is a problem of far-reaching proportions, concerning which the Church has had not too much to say and has taken less action.

A second problem in which the Church has a stake is presented by the inmates of prisons, asylums, and hospitals. Here is a wide field in urgent need of the help which only the Church can give. Another grow-

ing problem furnishing a challenge to the Church has to do with the aged in America. Already there are some 18 million men and women in America over 60 years of age, 12 million over 65, and nearly 4 million over 75 years of age. Homes for the aged can now care for hardly more than 100,000. The Church must assume some responsibility in this whole new field that the resources of old age may be claimed for Christ and that the needy may have adequate care.

Yet another felt need in our society is that of marriage and family counseling. While individual churches have had as a part of their program the guidance of young people as they contemplate marriage, the Church as a whole has not given sufficient thought to this responsibility. In some measure, consequently, the Church has been responsible for maladjustments found so often today in marriage and family relationships. The fact is that the Church today faces a fine opportunity for meeting an acute problem by providing adequate counseling centers where the troubled may be given guidance.



Then there are those problems having to do with housing conditions in slum areas; the problem posed by the thousands of migrant workers; the plight of the refugee and the need for emergency legislation enabling some 240,000 European refugees to find haven in America as recommended by President Eisenhower. These and other problems claim the concern of the Christian Church in America. However, there are three areas of responsibility which, because of their scope and far-reaching importance, must be considered as presenting the greatest challenge to the Church at this time.

### **The Economic Order**

Many of life's moral dilemmas have to do with the making and spending of money. Economic relations are an important area of social witness.

***Christian Concept of Daily Work***—There is urgent need today that the Church shall somehow help people in all walks of life to look upon their daily work as vocation. Men have forgotten the sanctity of daily work and need to be reoriented in their thinking. We of the Reformed Faith need to recover the conception of daily work as set forth by Martin Luther and John Calvin. Man is to use his work as a means of glorifying God and blessing society. Horace Bushnell gave fresh meaning to this conception in his sermon en-

titled "Every Man's Life a Plan of God." In recent times increasing attention has been given to man's responsibility to glorify God in his daily work. The North American Lay Conference held in Buffalo last year unanimously adopted a message to the churches which said in part:

"The true church is a Christian fellowship of laymen and ministers, working together with God to build a better world. God has given to each of us special talents. . . . But whatever our job may be, we should use as many of our talents as we can, and as well as we can. . . . God's purpose for us in our work can be achieved only when we regard all workers as our brothers. . . . We must be workers together and co-workers with God."

***The Church in a Revolutionary Economy***—In the course of the Christian Era many vast changes have been made in the economic life of man. From a simple economy largely based on slavery, society has passed through a great many stages. Following the collapse of the Roman Empire the economic pattern was, for the most part, an agricultural one during which period the feudal system developed. In time, the pattern changed with the development of trades and industries to accommodate the needs of town life. The modern economic pattern is a complex one and highly organized. Man's economic welfare today is largely dependent upon three groups: the Gov-

ernment, big business, and the labor union. The Church cannot be identified with any of these but must bring its influence to bear upon each.

All systems of government, all patterns of economic life and organization, stand equally under the judgment of God. Channels must be discovered through which the Christian message and life may find its way into these mighty forces which shape the life of the individual. The Church must be concerned that the welfare of the individual be kept in mind in the maze of modern economy. Here the Church has a unique opportunity, for only the Christian law of love operative in the human heart can solve the complicated problems of employer and employee.

### **The Order of Race**

Although much progress has been made toward better relations between racial groups, the Church is still confronted by an "American dilemma."

**Developments Outside the Church**—Institutions outside the Church have sought to promote racial good will and understanding. The Armed Forces have reduced racial discrimination to a minimum. Such a policy has proved to be remarkably satisfactory. It has been the practice of labor unions to recognize the worth of the individual and to elevate to office those who are best fitted, regardless of race. Said

E. B. Pugh, director of the C.I.O. for the State of Virginia: "There has never been the slightest friction, as far as I know, between whites and Negroes working together on a non-segregated basis in the plants or in our union meetings." Major sports in recent years have recognized individual ability, and have employed players solely on this basis. Walter Campbell, business manager of the Savannah, Georgia, team (South Atlantic League), said: "The presence of Negroes on South Atlantic League squads this year puts the circuit in step with organized baseball in general. I have found no opposition from our rivals within the league—and certainly this loop has no rules regarding race, color, or creed." (Associated Press.) In elective and appointive offices the trend is toward the fitness of the person, apart from racial background. In these and many other areas developments are moving fast toward better solutions of our American dilemma.

**Pronouncements and Practice**—Has the Church kept pace with such developments? In recent years many pronouncements have been handed down by various Church bodies. Some have been stronger and more detailed than others. In all of them there has been an earnest endeavor to interpret the principles of Christ for this area of life. There has been general agreement that racial discrimination has no basis in Scrip-

ture and is a denial of the Christian law of love. In practice, however, the Church has tarried in putting into effect the implications and explicit statement of its convictions. Two areas in particular claim the urgent attention of the Church—those of worship and education. A stranger to the shores of America would be especially impressed by the fact that churches, with few exceptions, are segregated. The stranger would likewise be impressed by the fact that many Church-controlled schools of higher learning are not open to all races. This is unfinished business, and it is urgent. Time is running out. The Church must dare to lead.

### World Order

In the world today there is a deep longing for peace. On every hand one hears the cry. What will be the outcome of this longing for peace in the world? Much depends upon the response of the Church.

**The Rise of Nationalism**—It has been estimated that as many as six hundred million people have acquired national sovereignty since the end of World War II. This has served to create unrest in those countries still under the domination of a foreign Government. This rise of nationalism in backward countries has created new problems in international relationships. It is a healthy development, nonetheless, and reminds nations of their interdepend-

ence. The rights of other nations cannot be ignored with wisdom.

**The United Nations**—The United Nations is the only institution on the horizon that offers a channel through which the problems of nations may be solved in peace. If the Church can recognize the potential of the United Nations—if the influence of the Christian Church can be brought to bear upon the United Nations—there may yet be a measure of peace in the world. Walter Van Kirk is right:

“It is true that the times in which we live are full of peril. Danger knocks at the door of every man, woman, and child. But this is God’s world. He has not surrendered his sovereignty. Our God is still the Lord of history. It is he and not any earthly potentate who will reign forever and ever. In this knowledge let Christians be done with their weeping. Let them be done with their prophecies of doom and destruction. Let them proclaim from the pulpits and their pews the good news that if men will walk in the ways of God and do his will, there is no power on earth by which they can be destroyed.” (In *The Church and Social Responsibility*, edited by J. Richard Spann. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. Used by permission.)

Let us then join hands with Him who said: “We must work the works of him who sent me, while it is day; night comes, when no one can work.”

# Sanctuary

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**"IF ANY MAN WOULD COME AFTER ME . . ."**

## **On the Threshold:**

"In the overwhelming sense of thy goodness, O God, may all our selfish desires and all our petty egotism vanish away. Humble us and forgive us, O God, that we may enter into unity with thee, and may become in some measure the instruments of thy peace. Amen."—*From Prayers, Personal and Social, by James Myers, National Council of Churches. Used by permission.*

## **No Enemies?**

"Alas for you when all men speak well of you!

For this is what their fathers did to the false prophets."

—*Luke 6: 26, The Twentieth Century New Testament. Fleming H. Revell Company. Used by permission.*

"Mildly good people, whose reforming spirit is satisfied by beautifying the city streets, for example, are generally regarded as fine citizens. They interfere with no one's racket. On the other hand, those who actively seek justice and kindness for all mankind often get themselves into serious difficulties. They may be called 'radicals,' 'Communists,' 'atheists.' They do not get promoted. They may lose their jobs. Even today, they may be beaten, tarred and feathered, murdered."—*From And Your Neighbor, by Edwin Leavitt Clarke. Association Press. Used by permission.*

## **No Cross?**

"Then Jesus told his disciples, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever would save his life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for my sake will find it.'"

•

"Some of us make Christianity too easy by restricting its application to the individual, personal life and keeping it out of our social attitudes. Christ deals with the souls of men one by one, we say, with their inner needs and motives, and at this point we stop and do not listen further to what Christ has to say about business, politics, race relations, war. . . . This kind of Christianity costs least. But to carry the principles of Christ



out into this terrific world and claim for his ideas the right to dominate is to state Christianity—and undertake to live it—in its most difficult form.”—*From The Secret of Victorious Living, by Harry E. Fosdick. Harper & Brothers. Used by permission.*

### **No Dream?**

“Thy kingdom come,  
Thy will be done,  
On earth as it is in heaven.”

“Think what it would mean to a local community if you and I should seek not only our own salvation, but the reign of God in our own town! If we should cultivate the habit of seeing a divine sacredness in every personality, should assist in creating the economic foundations for fraternal solidarity; and if, as Christians, we should champion the weak in our community!”—*From The Social Principles of Jesus, by Walter Rauschenbusch. Association Press. Used by permission.*

### **A Prayer for Brotherhood:**

“O Christ,  
Grant us this boon,  
To look with thine eyes of pity and love  
On all men’s need:  
To feel from within, with thee.  
The bite of pain, of hunger, of wrong;  
To live wholly beyond ourselves,  
In deep and active desire of help for the needy and the weak.

“O Christ,  
Conquer the selfish greed in our hearts,  
And grant us power to act,  
To struggle, to build,  
For the coming of thy full Kingdom,  
Where no man is wronged; greed and violence vanish away,  
And in all God’s world true brotherhood reigns.”

—*By J. S. Hoyland, in his book A Book of Prayers for Use in an Indian College. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Used by permission.*

—*Prepared by Dwight M. Chalmers, Minister, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Greenville, South Carolina.*

# "What Other Kind of Gospel?"

By JOHN H. MARION, JR., *Minister, Bon Air Presbyterian Church, Bon Air, Virginia*

MY DEAR WOMAN, what other kind of gospel is there?"—the question came with a chuckle and there was no sting in Mrs. Brown's motherly voice.

Her telephone had just rung and Mrs. Jeter, panting and fearful, was on the line. She'd been hearing things, she said, about Mrs. Brown's new pastor, and one was just terrible. "I hear," Mrs. Jeter said darkly, as if the new pastor had been caught trying to blow up the sanctuary, "that he preaches the social gospel!"

And that was when Mrs. Brown laughed. "My dear woman," she said pleasantly, "what other kind of gospel is there?"

It seems a pity, after all these years, that Christian people still have to keep asking that question. For if there's one fact the Bible makes plain, even on its surface, it is this: to cut the gospel down to a message strictly and selfishly for the individual is to cut it down to something less than Christian.

There are, to be sure, many Mrs. Jeters now who try to do that. They are often good people (as far as their goodness goes) and one must recognize them as brothers in

Christ. But one must also, in love, be firm. They believe, they say, in "the simple gospel." They want the Church to stick to "the old-time religion." But when they plead for a gospel that blithely ignores the Bible's abundant and pointed social teachings, they proclaim in effect that they understand neither of those well-worn terms. They are confused disciples who unwittingly serve up "half a Christ" to a world that needs desperately the whole gospel of God.

**In their loud pleas for a Christianity stripped of all sense of social concern and all demands for social action, they sing:**

"Give me that old-time religion,  
It's good enough for me.  
It was good enough for Moses, . . .  
It's good enough for me."

But just what was the religion that was good enough for Moses? If there was anybody in the Bible who had a keen, driving sense of social injustice and who bravely threw himself into mighty social action for God, it was Moses. His chief concern was not saving himself but saving his people. Beneath the loads and lashes of an Egyptian tyrant

Israel lay groaning and prostrate. And when Moses heard God's voice saying, "I have surely seen the affliction of my people . . . , and have heard their cry because of their taskmasters: . . . and I have come down to deliver them," he went forth in faith and compassion to thunder in the ears of history, "Let my people go." His religion set him afire with the conviction that God is a God of justice and mercy who cannot tolerate oppression. As champion of the oppressed, he became the first great herald of eternal social principles.

**But those who insist** on a non-social gospel must shut their eyes to more than Moses. They must also forget about the great lawgivers and prophets of Israel who kept sounding in people's ears the divine command to treat all men with strict, impartial fairness.

Take one of the laws in Deuteronomy, for example: "You shall not oppress a hired servant who is poor and needy, whether he is one of your brethren or one of the sojourners who are in your land" lest he "cry against you . . . , and it be sin in you." Some might not consider this a part of the simple gospel, but it was certainly one of many social obligations laid upon men and women by the oldest religion the Bible tells us anything about. What's more, it is hard to believe that the God who demanded such justice then

is any less concerned about decent hours, wages, and living conditions for servants now, whether they work in Mrs. Jeter's kitchen or in Mr. Jeter's factory or store.

**And what about those two** rugged prophets Amos and Micah? They're right there in the Bible, plain as day. Living in a day of crass materialism when true brotherhood had all but vanished, both Amos and Micah dared to speak for God against the greed, the frauds, the callous misuse of wealth which they knew God hated. When, pointing to glaring evils, they cried, "Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream," there were many who told them in effect to stick to the simple gospel—one that never touched the unpleasant topic of duty to one's neighbors. But Amos and Micah refused. They scorned to echo the smug, sugar-tongued official preachers who pampered selfish men, and for over twenty centuries the Church has honored them as genuine prophets of God.

Again, those who would ignore the Bible's social concern may wag their heads at this. Yet it's time somebody told them firmly that if they really want the old-time religion, they'll have to listen (once in a while) to preachers who dare (once in a while, anyway) to follow in Amos' and Micah's train.

But the most amazing thing about

these people who decry the Christian social message is what they do to Jesus—or try to. They must have read, surely, the simple gospel that fell from his own lips. They must have heard about the Golden Rule, the Good Samaritan, and the great commandment in which Jesus bade us, in the same breath with his command to love God, to love our neighbors as ourselves. But maybe Mrs. Jeter, too intent on doctrine to consult the dictionary, never learned what the word “social” means, for it is hard to see how anyone could love his neighbor as himself without insights and sympathies that lead to social concern and to the practice of an outgoing, social Christianity.

**Or it may be the Mrs. Jeters** think of Christian love as just a vague, warm glow in the heart that never dictate how one makes his money, how one talks about people, and how one shares his possessions and votes at the polls. Or perhaps they merely wish to be left alone to pick and choose which neighbors they’ll respect and love and provide with equal opportunities and treat as they’d like to be treated. Maybe what they really dislike is the Christian teaching that they have a lot of neighbors outside their social group, outside their own race and region, outside the United States.

It may, I grant, be painful to be told this, but Jesus taught it to us, in the story of the Good Samaritan.

The only unidentified man in that story is the wounded man by the roadside. The other three—the priest, the Levite, the Samaritan—are all labeled. The other man isn’t. He’s just a man, any man. He might have been good or bad, rich or poor, brown or white or yellow, Gentile or Jew; but he was, by Jesus’ definition, a neighbor in need who by his very anonymity stands for Everyman in need.

And that sounds pretty social, Mrs. Jeter. Of course, when Jesus said to the lawyer, “Go and do likewise,” he may not have been talking to you and me. You’re free to think that if you wish, but you’re going to have a terrible time, Mrs. Jeter, persuading folks who really believe the Bible that Christlike kindness and good will and practical helpfulness toward all wounded men are not a part of the old-time religion that Jesus would have practiced today.

**And that isn’t all.** When you sing about the old-time religion you say,

“‘It was good for Paul and Silas,  
It’s good enough for me.’”

I hope you mean that, Mrs. Jeter. Consider Paul. He had a lot to say about the atoning grace of God in Christ, and we don’t forget that. But if you think that Paul had nothing to say about how a person who accepts Christ ought to live in relation to his neighbors, then you don’t



know Paul. When Paul said, "None of us lives to himself, and none of us dies to himself," what do you think the apostle was doing, Mrs. Jeter, if he wasn't underscoring the Christian principle that since we're all tied up in one bundle of life there is no snug, private road to God, or away from God, for anybody?

**Again, when Paul declared,** "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus," what do you think he was doing if he wasn't saying in effect that "the inner drive of Christianity is always toward the abolishment of all distinctions based on birth or on blood, and toward the building of a society in which the brotherhood of all mankind is realized"? (From

*The Social Message of the Apostle Paul*, by Holmes Rolston. John Knox Press. Used by permission.)

As Dr. Halford Luccock put it, "The social gospel is not any new thing. It is one of the oldest things in the Bible. It was one of the first results of the vision of God which came to Moses. And any religion which does not have that social vision and throbbing sympathy for men at its very center cannot have any claim to being an old-time religion. It is a pale, bloodless modern substitute." (From *Best Sermons—1924*, compiled by Joseph Fort Newton. Harcourt, Brace & Company, Inc. Used by permission.)

No social gospel? It may be a hard word to take, Mrs. Jeter, but Mrs. Brown was right. If you want the Bible's gospel, there isn't any other kind.

## Evangelism and Social Action

By CLIFFORD EARLE, *Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education*

**E**VANGELISM and social action are ways whereby the Church endeavors to fulfill the redemptive purposes of Christianity. They are two modes of Christian outreach.

*Evangelism* is a word with a very special meaning in our Christian vernacular. It refers to everything

the Church does in winning men to Christian faith and in bringing them into the Christian fellowship. Evangelism undertakes to persuade individuals to accept Christianity, and to enlist in the Christian cause.]

[*Social action* also has a special reference as we use the phrase in the

Church. It means our various efforts to extend the reign of Christ and the dominance of his principles in the affairs of men and of nations. Christian social action seeks to bring our social practices and institutions in harmony with the will of God as revealed in Christ.

### **Person-centered**

It is important to see that evangelism and social action are person-centered. Both are concerned with what happens to people. They are based on the Bible's teaching of man's worth and man's responsibility under God.

There was a time when we made a wide distinction between the personal gospel and the social gospel. We said that only the first was interested in persons, while the second was concerned with large social issues in relation to which individuals did not seem to count for much. In the Church there were those who were enamored of the personal gospel and evangelism became their specialty. Others in the Church were devoted to the social gospel and made social action their *modus operandi*. The two groups were hardly on speaking terms with each other.

Now we see that this distinction between the personal gospel and the social gospel is mostly false. We insist that social action is as personal in its focus as evangelism. We are interested in social issues because of what they do to people. We are con-

cerned with social problems because of their bearing on the lives of men and women.

We promote good race relations because of what bad race relations do to persons at both ends of the prejudice. We encourage good housing because we know what bad housing does to men and women, boys and girls. We are interested in our nation's foreign policy because of what it means ultimately in the lives of individuals in this land and in other lands.

In both evangelism and social action our desire is to help men and women to become the kind of persons God wants them to be. Our interest in an individual requires that we seek to share with him our faith. That is evangelism. At the same time we will try to remove every obstacle in the social order which may keep him from knowing and doing God's will. That is social action. Our purpose always is to help him to be all that God wants him to be.

### **Evangelism Without Social Action**

It is an error to believe that evangelism can get along without social action. Indeed, the weakness and superficiality of much of our evangelism have been its failure to give proper stress to Christian witness and responsibility in social relations. Evangelism without social action usually runs into the kind of pietism that is noted for its irrelevancy.

Often we hear the statement that the business of the Church is to make new creatures of men who will in turn transform the world. This is partly true, but it lends itself to a very bad interpretation. It seems to suggest that it is not the business of the Church to interfere directly in social practices.

It is naïve to assume that converted men will automatically work for a Christian social order. They may need a second or a third conversion before they see the full social implications of some of the things they stand for and support. It is often dangerous to encourage a man in public office simply because he is an acknowledged follower of Jesus Christ and a member of the Church. It takes more than Christian sincerity for a man to be an effective instrument of God's will in the social order. It takes high intelligence, practical wisdom, and an unwavering interest in the welfare of persons according to God's desire for them.

To evangelism, then, must be joined social action whereby the Church, in its prophetic tradition, judges social issues and institutions and calls for appropriate changes to the end that God's will may be more perfectly fulfilled in the lives of men.

### **Social Action Without Evangelism**

When social action is divorced from evangelism it runs the danger

of losing its focus on persons. It is apt to become insensitive to the effects of social change on individuals. It tends to come loose from its Christian moorings.

It is wrong to say that our goal in social action is building a better world. That goal is highly desirable, but the motivating idea in Christian social action is helping persons to be all that God wants them to be. It is removing the obstacles that stand in the way of any man's knowing and doing God's will. It is multiplying and strengthening those influences in the social order that make it more possible for a person to be a complete disciple of Christ. In social action we have our eyes all the time on persons and what God wants them to be.

Here then is our standard. Whatever helps a person to be all that God wants him to be is right and should be encouraged and strengthened and served by the Church. Whatever hurts a man or degrades him, or in any way hinders him from being all that God wants him to be, is wrong and should be resisted and rejected and repudiated by the Church. This standard is clear only when social action is joined with evangelism in the outreach of the Church.

### **Each Needs the Other**

So the two efforts, evangelism and social action, complement and require each other. On the one hand,

evangelism with its dream of a redeemed world is incomplete without the attempt to Christianize human relationships. On the other hand, Christian social action has an evangelical starting point—a concern for the spiritual well-being of men and women. Together they compose the evangelical witness of the Church.

Evangelism has a further interest in social action in that the acceptance of Christianity involves the ac-

ceptance not only of a religious faith but also of Christian teachings which apply in all areas of human relationships. True evangelism challenges a person to be a complete disciple of Christ—and that means working for a Christian community as well as living a Christian life. The Church that is true to the evangelical tradition will emphasize both evangelism and social action in its program.

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## **The Reformed Faith and Social Action**

This statement of the Reformed Faith in relation to social concern and action was prepared by a committee representing the Council of Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The statement has been approved by the two bodies and is recommended for approval by the General Assembly of each of the two Churches.

All human life should be lived in accordance with the principles established by God for the life of men and of nations. This is a tenet of Biblical religion. It is also a basic emphasis in our Presbyterian heritage of faith.

As individuals and as a group, Christians are responsible for adjusting their thought and behavior to those everlasting principles of righteousness which God has revealed in Holy Scripture. It is no less their responsibility as citizens of their nation to seek as far as their influence may extend to bring national life and all the institutions of society into conformity with the moral government of God, and into harmony with the Spirit of Jesus Christ.

Believing in the importance and worth of every person as revealed in Scripture, the Church and each of its members should be concerned with the spiritual implications of this fact for all phases of our common life. Only those social practices are righteous and good which help men and women to fulfill God's desire for them.

If we as Presbyterians are loyal to that which is most distinctive in our own religious inheritance, we shall earnestly assert the relevance of our Christian faith to social relations. We shall survey the life of man in the light of Christ's teaching and example. We shall seek to know and to do the will of God in the concrete situations of everyday life. We shall look to the Church for inspiration, guidance, and support in this endeavor.



# Christian ACTION

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## "CHRISTIAN FAITH AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY"

Presbyterians—United, U.S., and U.S.A.—joined last month in Cleveland, Ohio, with 350 other Protestant Church leaders in the Fourth National Church Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, convened by the National Council of Churches and its Department of International Justice and Goodwill.

Five commissions worked for many weeks before the conference preparing background papers for the Message Committee and for four section groups. The message from Commission I was formally adopted by the conference.

Statements from each of the four section meetings were briefly reviewed in plenary session, vigorously discussed, and recommended to the churches for further study and appropriate action. The sections dealt with the following topics amplifying the conference theme: (1) The U.S. and the United Nations; (2) The U.S. and Foreign Economic Policy; (3) The U.S. and Underdeveloped Areas; and (4) The U.S. and Collective Security.

Among the delegates were well-informed ministers and lay leaders from thirty denominations, state and local councils of churches, Church-related colleges, and theological seminaries. Political scientists, economists, and observers from the Department of State and the United Nations Secretariat served as consultants to the four section groups. Of course, there were the usual diversities of political and social thinking, but full, frank consideration of even the most controversial issues occurred in the section groups and in plenary sessions.

Plenary sessions under the deft and perceptive leadership of Mrs. Douglas Horton, conference chairman and vice-chairman of the Division of Christian Life and Work, were lively and provocative. Even the most vocal dissenters accepted her wise and fair parliamentary procedures. Equally stimulating were the sections chaired by Willard Thorp and Frank Graham.

Throughout the conference it was recognized that American citizens,

in dealing with matters of American responsibility in the world community, need the insights and concerns of Christians in other countries, and need to submit to their correction and criticism. Mrs. Horton repeatedly called upon representatives from the Canadian delegation and from the German evangelical academies to apply this correction.

It was also frankly admitted in the message that as a nation we need to resist the temptation to believe that our substantial public allegiance to Christian ideals assures divine approval of our policies, and that we must "especially avoid the assumption that a solution lies in making the rest of the world over as nearly as possible in the pattern of the United States."

The message clearly laid upon Christians the responsibility to look beyond military and political expediency, to establish the positive conditions for peace and justice, and to lead the free world in its efforts to negotiate workable agreements with the Soviet world without compromise of basic convictions.

**Important among specific** recommendations adopted by the conference were those dealing with the need for providing sustained and increasing financial support for the UN's expanded program of technical assistance, revision of the immigration and nationality acts of 1953, and recognition of the long-range continuing problems of rehabilita-

tion and resettlement of refugees and Displaced Persons.

Repeated emphasis was given to efforts the United States should make in patient and persistent negotiation as the method of settling international disputes.

An incisive recommendation dealt with United States treaties and executive agreements. The conference was convinced "that adequate safeguards respecting the making of treaties and executive agreements are already provided in the American Constitution," and expressed opposition to a Constitutional amendment which "would hamper our Government in carrying forward and making effective a responsible foreign policy."

The conference confessed also its responsibility in the field of racial tension and called upon the churches to use all their powers to remove racial barriers in whatever their local form.

This all-too-brief appraisal of the vigor and importance of the debate at Cleveland should not omit a comment on the educational method of permissive, frank discussion in small groups and in plenary session. The educational process which was used in conference preparations and deliberations seems more important than the statements that we produced. Conference is really only the beginning of a never-ending task of getting American churchmen informed about and personally in-

volved in world affairs. This Cleveland conference will be remembered for its insistence that education for

social responsibility is the inescapable duty of the local church.

—Margaret E. Kuhn

## UN NEWS NOTES

One of the important sections of the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order was "The United States and the United Nations." More than one hundred leaders gave careful study to a statement to be sent out to the churches on this subject. The discussion reflected deep concern over mounting criticisms and serious consideration of a seeming lack of support of the churches and Christian individuals. It was agreed that "church members as Christians need help in moving from the area of large principles and vague wishes into the area of concrete and helpful action."

One section report dealt with a general statement of the underlying Christian concern: "Our concern for world order and for the United Nations as an instrument to promote it roots in our Christian faith. . . . As Christians we know ourselves to be involved in world-wide tragedy and guilt, and we share with countless millions the hope that peace and good will may prevail. . . . In the providence of God, the United Nations has come into being as a human agency through which nations and peoples can work co-operatively to attain the purposes of freedom,

justice, and fraternity."

Other sections dealt with Achievements; Limitations and Weaknesses; Growth; U. S. Responsibility; Special Recommendations. This report together with resource materials to implement it will be a guide for study and action in the coming months. In this brief space perhaps a listing of achievements might be most helpful, though limitations and weaknesses must not be overlooked in further study.

**In the area of political activities**—Hostilities in certain parts of the world were opposed. In Palestine and Kashmir, the guns of war were silenced and opportunity provided for peaceful settlement through negotiation. Shifting operations from the battlefield in Indonesia to the Round-Table Conference at The Hague brought about the United States of Indonesia. Conversations at the UN started action that led to lifting the Berlin blockade. A threatening situation in the Balkans was stabilized. Foundations were laid for the establishment of an independent Libya.

**In the area of human rights and freedoms**—A Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted and sent to all the countries

of the world. This has been translated into thirty-six different languages, and the moral impact of its affirmations has been felt in shaping the constitutional documents of a number of states and in the Japanese peace treaty. An International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide has been negotiated. A Convention on the Political Rights of Women has been submitted to member states for ratification, and action has been taken in a number of states. The UN has spoken out on behalf of the minority peoples in South Africa, and for rights and freedoms of peoples in Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary. This forum of public opinion to which appeal may be made for redress of grievances brings hope to millions of people.

**In the area of economic activity**—The UN has initiated and is carrying forward a program of technical assistance. It has pooled the technical resources of a world community in an adventure of good will that corresponds at many points with the Christian thesis that those who are strong must bear the burdens of the weak. Some 1,500 specialists, recruited and trained under the UN, are at work in seventy or more countries. The churches should feel some responsibility for finding adequate personnel for this program as well as for the extension of the fellowship training program.

**In the area of Specialized Agencies**—The Food and Agriculture Organization undertakes to increase the productivity of God's good earth and to distribute it to all God's people. The World Health Organization wars upon epidemics and preventable disease, thus striking at one of the causes of misery and unrest. UNESCO promotes cultural understanding, free exchange of information, and gives priority to the enlightened mind as one condition of peace through understanding. The Children's Fund carries forward a ministry of loving care for the hungry, sick, and homeless children of many lands.

The UN does provide an alternative to war. It makes available a conference table to which can be brought those issues that might erupt into war, where the voice of the peoples may be heard above the tensions and rivalries of nations. It has brought into focus the oneness of mankind and has permitted the exercise of moral judgments and thus forced Governments to take into account the common interests of nations and to modify their actions in favor of world community. Its method of settling disputes has provided a recognized alternative to war.

This comment is based on less than one third of one section report. It might be worth your while to look into all the reports.

—*Mabel Head, UN observer*



## ★ *Citizenship* ★

☒ As we go to press, the Administration is hard at work trying to whip into shape a program to present to the coming Congressional session in January. Many commissions are holding hearings and supposedly sifting facts in an effort to evolve effective recommendations for the President. Action must be taken by the Congress on major problems, many of them postponed from last session, and in an election year with its attendant pressures the "going" promises to be very rough.

Results of several special elections have further narrowed the already slim majority held by the Republicans in the House, the division now being 219 Republicans, 215 Democrats, and 1 Independent. In the Senate, the appointment of a Democrat to fill the Ohio seat of Senator Taft has placed the Democrats in technical control. However, they have announced they will not exercise this majority for "organizational" purposes, since they desire to be relieved of the "responsibility" which it would entail. The Senate now contains 48 Democrats, 47 Republicans, and 1 Independent.

All told, the "dynamic and progressive legislation" mentioned recently by the President as his plan for the coming Congressional session seems a very elusive if not impossible reality, at this writing.

**Housing**—A fight over the issue of public housing seems certain. The House voted in the last session to kill this program, but the Senate, acceding to an Administration request, voted for 35,000 units and they compromised on a figure of 20,000. A commission appointed by the President to study the Government's role in this field is due to report by February 1. Undoubtedly the Administration's request will be based upon the recommendations made by this commission. Some criticism has been heard of this group to the effect that its membership was such as not to give "proper respect to some of the Government programs." Before the members of Congress return to Washington in January they should be given up-to-date facts on the low-rent public housing situation in their states and districts.

**Social Security**—As we go to press, a subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee has just opened hearings looking toward an extensive survey of all aspects of the social security system. Congressman Curtis (R., Neb.) is chairman of the subcommittee and he states: "We want to get the facts about the present program. We want to know what it is doing now, what it is not doing, where it is going, and what are its faults and shortcomings, if any." Persons interested in strengthening

and extending the social security program have some misgivings about the work of this committee since Chairman Curtis has been a vigorous opponent of many social security programs in the past. However, the fact that next year is an election year will considerably color Congressional reactions and votes on this popular issue.

### **Juvenile Delinquency Probe—**

At press time, a Senate judiciary subcommittee was scheduled to begin hearings on November 18 on juvenile delinquency throughout the nation. The first hearings were scheduled for Washington, D. C., dealing with nation-wide aspects of the problem. Government officials and others who have worked in this field were to be the first witnesses. At a later date certain community studies will be made in cities over the country. Senator Robert Hendrickson (R., N. J.) is chairman of this subcommittee, and he states that preliminary work indicates this problem is the "most vast" he has ever worked on, with a thirty per cent increase in it in the last five years. The subcommittee has agreed to allow the hearings to be televised though juveniles will not be put on the stand.

**Overseas Information Program—**Late in October, President Eisenhower outlined a new policy for this program which is now operated under the newly formed United States Information Agency. This Agency now comprises the Voice of

America, overseas libraries, a press service, and a motion picture section. It is an independent agency but is subject to foreign policy guidance by the Secretary of State.

In outlining the new policy, the President said the Agency would center on stressing to other peoples that "the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress, and peace." He emphasized that one method of our approach would be "by unmasking and countering hostile attempts to distort or to frustrate the objectives and policies of the United States."

**Point Four Program—**In reply to a letter addressed to F.O.A. Administrator Harold Stassen by five Democratic Senators early in November, Mr. Stassen reiterated that this program will be "expanded and improved," not abandoned, as the Senators had feared. "We have not smothered technical assistance under the military program," Mr. Stassen wrote. "But we have liberated technical assistance from excessive Washington bureaucracy. We have decreased Washington overhead and increased overseas results."

There are growing indications, however, that technical assistance will be handled more and more by contracts with private groups such as land-grant colleges, business firms, and philanthropic organizations.

—Helen Lineweaver

# About Books

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**Education and Liberty**, by James Bryant Conant. Harvard University Press. \$3.00.

This little treatise on education, based on Dr. Conant's lectures at the University of Virginia in February, 1952, has proved to be one of the most controversial books of recent years in the field of education. For the most part, it is a scholarly and objective comparative study of schools in the United States and the systems of the British Commonwealth. In the second half of Chapter 3, however, Dr. Conant raises the issue between public and private schools.

Through an appendix of liberal notes in this book, Dr. Conant has tried to clarify his position as being, not an attack on the existing balance in the United States between public and private secondary schools, which is approximately 90 per cent and 10 per cent respectively, but rather a warning against an expansion of private schools that might eventually lead us to the British systems of tax-supported private education.

Despite the author's reassurance that he is not attacking the *status quo* regarding the right of Ameri-

can parents to organize and support private schools to remedy inadequacies in public education, one has the feeling that he regards the comprehensive public high school as the ideal institution for all the children in a democratic society, a position which is tenable only if the public school can be free to teach those moral, spiritual, and religious values which many parents believe are inseparable from true education.

On the whole, Dr. Conant's challenge may be regarded as a healthy and searching examination of the respective roles of public and private schools, which may result in a much-needed self-analysis of aims and values.

—Burton P. Fowler

**The Republic and the Person**, by Gordon Keith Chalmers. Henry Regnery Co. \$4.00.

This book by the president of Kenyon College is written for educators but should be read by all ministers also. In the words of the introduction: "This book will endeavor to state what is required to reorient the aims of American teaching and learning if it is to promote responsible American liberalism of a kind adequate to meet our obliga-

tions abroad and at home." In striving toward this goal the author treats soundly such educational aims as right social attitudes, puts the famous Kinsey report in proper perspective, and stresses fully the Christian concept of the individual as a responsible person created by God. Dr. Chalmers maintains it is sentimental to assume that "the evils of our life are primarily social not personal." Education must become "three dimensional," for "human experience is related to itself, to nature, and to divinity." Even such a social goal as is stated in Micah 6: 8 must be reached "with the long and exacting study of the individual." Moral maturity is the proper object of school and college according to this writer.

—*John C. White*

**Apostles of Discord**, by Ralph Lord Roy. The Beacon Press. \$3.75.

This is the first major attempt to catalogue and document those individuals and groups who would divert the main stream of historic Christianity into their own pet ponds of bigotry, confusion, subversion, and supernationalism.

The first part deals with "The Ministry of Hate," the sowers and cultivators of racism and religious enmity.

The second part deals with "The Ministry of Disruption," those who seek to erase the line of distinction between the liberal and the Stalin-

ist, those who seek to identify the ecumenical movement and its drive toward co-operation with "the world-wide Communist conspiracy" and its drive toward revolution.

Mr. Roy, who is a Methodist minister, "a Republican . . . , [and] generally a supporter of the middle way," strives to be eminently fair in his accounts of the borderline groups who occasionally appear to cross over into the swamps of bigotry and confusion. For example, he treats the extreme fundamentalist National Association of Evangelicals with critical objectivity. That he regards Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State as being among these borderline groups may come as a surprise to many who have been completely uncritical toward P.O.A.U.

This is not a definitive study, and occasionally facts are presented in language which suggests less than objectivity. But it is a priceless contribution to our understanding of the powerful religious and quasi-religious forces at work in America today.

—*H. B. S.*

**American Education and Religion**, edited by F. Ernest Johnson. Harper & Brothers. \$2.00.

Here is a most useful book for background thinking on a controversial subject. The volume is based on lectures given at the Institute for



Religious and Social Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America during the winter of 1950-1951. Its contributors include some of the outstanding exponents of the major points of view held in this country on the subject of religion in education.

Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant educators' views are presented clearly with the areas of agreement and disagreement constructively handled. A point of view not often expressed in arguments on this issue, but of importance because of its widespread support, is that developed by Dr. Vivian Thayer, who takes the "experimentalist" position. It is especially interesting to read her defense of secularism as a "logic and a discipline by means of which men seek to raise themselves above the battle of religious sects and to succeed at times in alleviating, even reconciling, these conflicts."

To show something of the scope of the volume, it might be noted that chapters are included dealing with religion in a state university, in municipal colleges, in a state teachers college, in privately supported higher education, in elementary and secondary education. Added to these studies are a statement of the problem and a summary by the editor which make this a volume of value in thinking through the complexities of this issue.

—Robert C. Lamar

**The Words of Justice Brandeis**, edited by Solomon Goldman. Henry Schuman, Inc. \$3.00.

Rabbi Goldman has, with thorough scholarship, culled from great quantities of material many enduring ideas with which Justice Brandeis was associated. He has also amassed the significant declarations of Justice Brandeis, both before and after his elevation to the Supreme Court bench, which provide insight into his philosophy of life.

Those who wish to understand the liberal movement of the last fifty years in the sociopolitical and economic realm will do well to read Brandeis, for this American Jew had the gift of penetrating insight and of great personal integrity. Justice William O. Douglas has written a foreword to the book, in which he says that Brandeis' "obsession was with causes—Zionism, honesty in government, integrity in business and finance, the curse of bigness in our economic and political life." Farther on in the foreword he says, "I know there was no price he would not have paid for his convictions." Such men are rare, and this is why the words they speak are worth reviewing and studying.

For a clear insight into the mind of a great liberal, for his views on subjects ranging from amending the Constitution to Zionism, look into this collection.

—Paul C. McFarlin

## Church and Economic Life Week

ECONOMIC justice is the January topic in the Christian social action calendar. The emphasis is brought to the fore during Church and Economic Life Week, January 17-23, 1954. The theme for the week is "Christian Action in Industrial Relations." A splendid program guide for the observance of the week in churches and communities has been provided by the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches. Free copies of the guide may be secured from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Two articles in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS are related to Christian responsibility in daily work. One is "My Church and My Job—Isolated Entities," by H. B. Sissel, of our Department. The other, "Christ and Business," is based on a sermon by Rev. Jule Ayers, of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. These articles are especially useful as background and resource material for the program outlined in the January-March issue of *Crossroads*. Many adult groups will want to use this program in the observance of Church and Economic Life Week.

In a church in the West a small group of doctors meet regularly with the minister to discuss what it means to be a Christian in their daily work. A good deal of their study is focused on the ethical dilemmas and problems that are peculiar to persons in the medical profession. It has been suggested that discussions of this sort in groups brought together on the basis of common occupational interest may someday have a large place in the adult program of Christian education. This seems to be a sure way of making religion relevant to everyday life.

## A Comment on the Schools Cases

THE segregated schools cases before the United States Supreme Court are of vast interest to everyone concerned with civil rights.

Two of our Southern states, South Carolina and Georgia, have



announced that if the Supreme Court rules out segregation in public schools these states will turn all education over to private and parochial schools where segregation is permitted. Under the announced plans these private systems will receive large grants from state and county funds.

It will be terribly tempting for church bodies and Church-related schools to accept money earmarked for segregated education. It is earnestly hoped that none of the institutions related to our own Church fall into this moral trap. Indeed, as soon as legal obstacles to integration are removed, every one of our schools in the South should do everything it can to have a racially inclusive student body and faculty.

We hail the Board of Christian Education for its recent action calling for the acceleration of racial integration in all Presbyterian-related colleges and foundations. This action was taken as a result of the study being made by the National Council of Westminster Fellowship which reveals that discriminatory practices still exist for one reason or another in perhaps a dozen of these institutions.

## Unique Scholarships Available

THE National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students was established in 1947 by a group of seven college presidents in an effort to help Negro students to obtain admission and scholarships in nonsegregated colleges.

The Fund has co-operated with high school guidance services to help over 1,300 Negro students to gain admission to over 200 interracial colleges, and has helped many to win scholarships totaling almost \$300,000 and ranging in price from \$100 up to the full cost of four college years—\$8,300.

The Fund is now prepared to extend these services to *both* white and Negro students who wish to attend colleges located in Southern states which up to recently were altogether racially segregated. The Fund makes it possible for white students to attend colleges that are predominantly Negro in constituency as well as for Negro students to attend institutions formerly all white. Many colleges previously limited in enrollment to *either* Negro or white students have voluntarily opened their doors to students of the *other* race.

For information about this program of "two-way integration," readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS may wish to write to the Fund, which is located at 131 W. 110th Street, New York 26. Dr. Richard E. Plaut is the director.

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## The General Council Letter

A LETTER TO PRESBYTERIANS" from the General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., released to the press on November 3 and published in the November 14 issue of *Presbyterian Life*, has met a most encouraging response across the Church and throughout the country. Other church bodies, such as the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church and the Congregational Conference of Massachusetts, have issued similar statements in profound amen to the Presbyterian letter.

With the Stated Clerk's blessing, the Department of Social Education and Action has prepared a brief study outline based on the letter. This outline appeared in the December 21 issue of *Monday Morning*. We are presenting it in slightly expanded form on pages 24-26 of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. As the weeks go by since the release of the letter in early November, the statement becomes ever more timely and pertinent to the issue of freedom in American life. The study guide is prepared for the benefit of groups in local churches which may wish to discuss the letter and some of its implications.

## The Firing Line

SOMETIMES people suggest that the Department of Social Education and Action is the front line of social progress in our Church. They seem to think that persons connected with the Department are in exposed positions. The truth is that the firing line in the battle for righteousness is not this Department or any department or board, but the local church. The "exposed position" is manned by the minister who asserts the social relevancy of the Christian faith. It is he, much more than we in the Department, who is the target of miscellaneous antagonisms and attacks.

Several churches now engage in the practice of making pronouncements on community problems and other social issues. These deliverances are usually prepared by the social education and action committee of the church, and are transmitted to the session for approval. They are read from the pulpit and in other ways communicated to the members of the church and publicized in the community. We heartily recommend this method of making social education and action come alive in the local church.

—Clifford Earle



# The Gospel of the Kingdom of God Today

By GEORGE L. HUNT, *Editor, Adult Publications, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education*

WHEN Jesus sent out the Seventy he instructed them to declare, "The Kingdom of God has come near to you." Apparently the word hit home, for the thirty-five couples returned with enthusiastic and astounding reports of success.

We wish we might meet with equal responsiveness, but our declaration of the gospel of the Kingdom seems singularly fruitless. It is difficult to declare the gospel correctly. If we try to do justice to its theological content, we lose our hearers who do not think theologically. If we take the easier way and interpret the gospel "practically," we lose the gospel and speak some kind of moralism that Jesus would not recognize as the word he commissioned us to preach.

Isn't our problem—we communicators of the Christian faith—that we preach the gospel at people but not to them? To preach to people we have to take into account who they are, where they stand, what they need to hear. Because the Seventy did this, the word was received joyously in most places.

"In most places." Chorazin and Bethsaida did not hear. We cannot expect everyone to hear this gospel willingly and cheerfully. We must expect that some will fight it and re-

sist it. But the hearing is in other hands than ours. We declare; let who will, listen.

In what terms should the gospel be declared in our day? Max Warren, of the Church Missionary Society in Great Britain, thinks there are three needs of men today which are answered by the gospel of Jesus Christ. The first is the need to see the necessary unity between Sunday worship and weekday living; the second is to reaffirm the importance of human personality; and the third is for Christians to accept a responsible role in society today. Let us examine these facets of the mission.

## Unity

Max Warren begins his little book, *The Christian Mission*, with this statement by a young African woman:

"Many Africans are seeking answers to their questionings, but the Church is not playing its full part in helping young people to face the problems of society. To them God is the God of the Church: he is not the God of politics and social life. They need to see him as one God: to see that the Church is concerned with the whole of life." (Copyright, 1951, by the Student Christian Movement Press. Used by permission.)

This is true for Americans as well as for Africans. We live in a time of disintegration. Old societies that had held nations together for centuries are falling. Moralities that had solidified family life are being abandoned. Securities we had counted on are deserting us. We are ununified, disintegrated people, in our own personalities and in our relationships. And not the least sign of our disunity is the way we compartmentalize God. He is the being we worship on Sunday, but the God revealed in Jesus Christ is not followed in our business relationships during the week. Then we worship other gods. Yet God is one, and this must be reaffirmed. Men need to see that the only way to integrate life is around his will and purpose, that the only way to have right relationships with other people is to see them as brothers to whom we are united in Christ, and that the only way to resolve the conflict between Sunday worship and weekday practice is to follow the one God every day of the week.

Nothing will reveal man's opposition to the gospel more surely than this attempt always to worship the one God. When Bishop Oxnam of the Methodist Church was accused by a Congressman of preaching God on Sunday and following someone else during the week, the bishop naturally sought an apology from his accuser. Actually, however, it is the accuser who is now on trial, for he does not know that to worship the

Christian God on Sunday means to do during the week exactly what Bishop Oxnam has been doing throughout a distinguished career: fighting social oppression, declaring the judgment of God upon men and nations, becoming the champion of those who have no defender. It is Rep. Jackson who worships other gods if he thinks that the gospel can be divorced from the crucial social needs of our day.

This week-long worship of the one God revealed in Jesus Christ is part of our mission today.

### **Persons Are Important**

As well as being a time of disintegration, ours is an age of absorption. People are becoming part of an undistinguished mass rather than individuals with their own personalities.

This is exactly the point made by Theodore Romig in a recent issue of *Crossroads*. In the first of four lessons on "Modern Man and the Gospel" he writes:

"[Today] the worker is chained to a dead thing, the machine, an instrument that he operates and controls, it is true, but an object that determines his life and to which he is a committed subject. Nations, groups, and races compete for supremacy in the arena of mass production. The essential elements in the struggle are machines, raw materials, and human labor. In practically all nations of the world . . . there is plenty of hu-

man labor. Therefore, man—the only creature on earth created by God to have communion with him—is reduced to an automaton to serve the lifeless machine. Throughout all of Asia and in practically all the countries of Europe man is expendable and is of much less value than the modern efficient machine. . . . Our world . . . is a world in which man has become less than a person, a world whose cities are populated by well-groomed, smiling, suave machines that have lost the power to be people.” (Copyright, 1953, by W. L. Jenkins. Used by permission.)

To combat the impersonalism of our time, it is the mission of the Church to declare that God became a person, and because he became a person all human personalities are precious to him.

This is why a medical and agricultural program in foreign lands, the encouragement of United Nations and UNESCO, are part of the mission of the Church: because we worship a God who became a person, and so demonstrated his love for all persons everywhere. Christian education is part of the mission as we work under God to make people into persons who shall be the new creation God intends them to be.

### **Responsibility**

It is the mission of the Church to declare in the third place that to be a person involves responsibility. One can be a machine and bear no re-

sponsibility for what he does. He can be part of a mass movement like Communism or McCarthyism and go along with the crowd, letting the party or the crowd set the course of his thinking and acting. But let him dare to be an individual, a person, and he is given freedom that involves responsibility.

It has been impressed on me recently that the price of accepting responsibility is always a willingness to face martyrdom. The responsible person thinks for himself, follows the course of action that his conscience dictates to him, and knows that he alone must bear the consequences of his decisions. This is the kind of responsible person the Christian must be, though his independence of thought and action stem not from political freedom—he may well be in prison—but from slavery to one Lord only, Jesus Christ.

To live by this single loyalty is to challenge all other loyalties, and if these other loyalties are strong enough, they can make you a martyr. It may be a mild martyrdom or a great one; the degree is of small significance. What matters is the willingness to accept responsibility in full knowledge of the consequences. The Christian can do this better than anyone else, for the Kingdom declared *to* the world is yet not *of* the world. Human consequences are of minor importance compared to the glory that awaits those who are faithful to the end.

# My Church and My Job — Isolated Entities

By H. B. SISSEL, *Assistant Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education*

THE man or woman engaged in an occupation is, as such, pretty much the forgotten person of the average Protestant church. In a recent conversation, a Presbyterian elder, a junior executive in a steel products plant, expressed deep longing for understanding of his world and its problems on the part of his pastor. He spoke of having taken his pastor on a tour of the factory. The minister's response was merely to the *bigness* of the enterprise, the number of employees, the tonnage of the product. The layman then took his pastor past long rows of desks into his own office, and tried to interest him in some of the human problems, the difficult personnel decisions in which he was involved. But again the minister's interest expressed itself only in questions such as: How many people work under you? How much is the sales volume of the company? This layout must be worth hundreds of thousands of dollars; etc. The layman was frustrated in his effort to secure sympathetic understanding for his position as a Christian executive involved in the moral ambiguities of a business enterprise.

Interviews with three other per-

sons revealed a similar cleavage between their vocational world and the ecclesiastical world. The business executive above was poignantly aware of this cleavage, but the three men below will be seen to have no conscious awareness of it, indicating that it is so widely the accepted pattern that it is regarded as normative for church and job to be isolated entities.

IN ALL three of the following interviews the conversation was carried on at the informal, casual level, rather than at the level of the formal interview. That is, the interviewees had no reason to believe that the substance of what they expressed would be regarded as in any sense indicative of a trend, or used in this article.

An insurance salesman was most acutely sensitive to the ethical dilemmas which his vocation thrust upon him. He cited as examples (a) the moral ambiguity of the "scare technique" as a means of advertising and selling insurance; (b) the conflict in interest between the insured who has a claim and the stockholders whose money must be used to pay the claim; (c) the conflict between the



salesman's interests and the insured's interests in mutually determining the size of the policy that is purchased.

The insurance salesman was asked if he felt (a) that his church had had anything to do with creating his moral sensitivity, by which he recognized the ethical dilemmas of his job, and (b) whether he thought his church could give him any counsel in resolving them. His answer to both questions was, "No," thus indicating an unawareness of the source of ethical norms in the first place, and a feeling, in the second place, that the church either would not understand the context of his problems or else had no right to invade his "secular" field of operations.

A factory worker was asked, in the course of casual conversation, if there was much theft of tools and parts in the plant where he worked. He replied with a cynical laugh, and in his own way, that the accepted pattern was to "lift" an occasional tool or spare part whenever the opportunity presented itself, and that many workers had equipped their own basement workshops at the expense of the factory. "Nearly everybody" did it—probably a numerical exaggeration, but indicative of the fact that it was common.

Asked his reaction to this pattern, he replied that he believed it was wrong, and that he never indulged in it, but he knew plenty of men who did. He said he was a member of a church which taught him that it was

wrong to steal, and that he would feel like a hypocrite if he took advantage of the opportunities to "lift" equipment, although he guessed the company could afford its losses. Further pressing revealed no awareness of the broader implications of this pattern of theft, or of any responsibility on his part to do anything about it. By not indulging in it himself, he obviously felt that he had no involvement in it, and that it was not his, but the company's, responsibility to protect its own property.

A SIMILAR lack of sensitivity and involvement was revealed in a conversation with a state employment service worker. Did he have any knotty moral problems to solve on his job? None that he could recall.

How about such and such a situation in which a person applied for unemployment compensation benefits? There was a state law and precedent which applied to such a situation.

How about a situation in which the law, if applied strictly according to its letter, would work injustice and hardship upon an applicant? It was not his responsibility to determine "justice"—he merely operated within the framework of the law.

Did he feel that his church had anything to say about such cases? No. Besides, he had not been a member of a church since his teens.

IT SEEMS obvious that the Church has all but permitted the vocational community to slip into another world apart from its own, not by virtue of doctrinal position, since the Reformation did away with the theological cleavage between "sacred and secular," but by virtue of a practical concern for, and involvement in, other areas which seem to be closer to home.

The man or woman who works at an occupation receives considerable attention as a member of the church and as a member of a family, even perhaps in some rare instances as a citizen whose responsibility it is to vote and participate in the affairs of his political community. But as a member of a particular vocational community, and therefore one who has interests and problems which are unique simply by virtue of the fact that he works at a particular job, he is almost a nonentity.

He may, of course, receive from the pulpit occasional exhortations to "be a Christian on Monday as well as on Sunday" or "to bring Christ into the market place." But as a mechanic or a machinist or a lawyer or a nurse, in short, as a person whose life is extraordinarily conditioned daily by a set of circumstances and surroundings, he frequently receives practically no attention from his church.

Perhaps this is not quite true. There *is* a path which connects the church, more especially the minis-

ters, with the worker as a worker. But it is usually a one-way street. The attitude of the church toward the man or woman in a vocation can be characterized by the word "appropriation"—how can the peculiar talents of this teacher or that carpenter be "appropriated" by the church and put to use? "The church has need of you," in the Sunday school, on the house and grounds committee, on the finance committee—this is the traditional avenue of approach, and any return traffic is usually forbidden, not explicitly, but by long-established absence of any traffic running the other way.

It is a widely accepted and acceptable principle that a church member may have unique problems, even sorrows and frustrations, by virtue of the fact that he is a spouse, a parent, or child, i.e., a member of a family. And the pastor is quick to recognize it as his responsibility to give counsel on family problems. So well established is this principle that the home is also the province of the church that many pastors even make an effort to seek out troubled families and present themselves as representing the church's concern and eagerness to be of help. Family counseling programs, including visual aids, are not at all unusual in the average church's activities, and more and more ministers are acquiring competence in this area of the Church's ministry.

And yet the average working man

or woman is involved in his vocational community to a greater extent in terms of waking hours of time than he is in his family group. He leads a "double life"; that is, his life has two sociocenters of gravity. Perhaps someday sociologists will determine the relative strength of the group forces that condition a person's life—family, business, church, clubs, etc.—but until this important study is made, it seems safe to assume that the social force of the vocational community ranks near the top.

MEANWHILE, thousands of business and professional, skilled and unskilled, workers undoubtedly assume unconsciously that the church is the church, the vocation is the vocation, and never the two shall meet. Needless to say, there are two reasons for this unrealized and therefore powerful assumption. The first is the lack of interest and understanding from the side of the Church. But it also needs to be said that a strong prejudice exists on the other side, particularly in the minds of many businessmen, that the church ought not to "meddle" in affairs that do not "concern" it, i.e., the business world. Nevertheless, whether the vocational community is generally aware of it or not, the fact seems obvious that the Reformation doctrine of the unity of the sacred and the secular, the doctrine of vocation, has very little practical application in the average Protestant church.

Because of space limitation, the observations recorded in this article are admittedly and of necessity long on diagnosis and short on prescription. They are intended to point up the urgent need for awareness and action on the part of the church if it is to reclaim the nearly lost province of the vocational community, and bring it once more into a consciousness that it too is under the sovereignty of God (which is not to be equated with ecclesiastical surveillance). The motivation for any action along these lines must be a compassionate concern for those who are caught in the uncharted ethical jungle of our economic life.

One Presbyterian church in Denver has found tremendous interest expressed from a group of physicians who meet regularly for breakfast at 7:00 A.M. The sharing of common ethical problems and the seeking of light from the Bible and the experiences of others have given them a sense of real Christian community. Smaller churches might find it necessary to go outside their own congregations to form interest groups of this kind.

But more is needed in terms of study guides, a larger pooling of experiences, and program development. It is hoped that such will be forthcoming. Meanwhile, an aroused interest and action on the part of pastors and laymen alike is called for if the church and the job are not to remain isolated entities.

# The Christian Faith and International Responsibility

*Excerpts from a Message to the Churches from the National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, Cleveland, Ohio, October 27-30, 1953, sponsored by the National Council's Department of International Justice and Goodwill*

AS CHRISTIANS, we belong to a community of faith, knit together by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and our common loyalty to him. That community joins in one world-wide fellowship those who in ages past, today, and in ages yet to come call upon the name of the Lord and seek to serve his righteous will. We are also members of the community of mankind, created in God's image and all held within the embrace of his loving purpose.

\* \* \* \*

We acknowledge that as members of Christ's one Church we are members of one another with all our fellow Christians across the world. . . . The ties which bind us to our brothers in Christ and to all men everywhere require of us a concern for all that burdens and distorts their lives and our relations with them.

\* \* \* \*

Central in the faith which unites the Christian community is the conviction that God who is revealed in

Christ is the Lord of history, the Ruler of men and nations. He wills justice, peace, freedom, and brotherhood. One of the Church's tasks is to challenge in his name the pride and the pretensions of men and nations, and in the light of God's law and reconciling love to prompt them into courses of action which are in harmony with his purposes.

\* \* \* \*

The Christian faith does not provide us with clear-cut blueprints or easy answers for the tragic problems of the world's disorder. We must guard ourselves and others from the illusion that there is any simple or permanent solution of them. As American Christians we need to resist the temptation to believe that a nation which publicly professes Christian ideals is thereby assured of divine approval of its policies. And we must especially avoid the assumption that a solution lies in making the rest of the world over as nearly as possible into the pattern of the United States.



## U.S. Foreign Policy

One of the chief facts of our time is the ferment among the peoples in technically less developed areas. This ferment is complex. It includes a passionate nationalism in rebellion against colonialism and domination in every form. It is a revolt against hunger and misery associated with feudal patterns and foreign or domestic exploitation. It is pervaded by resentment against racial arrogance and discriminatory practices of the dominant peoples of the West.

This ferment is in part induced by progressive elements in the indigenous cultures, and in part by influences from Western societies. High standards of living, democratic ideals and practices, and, not least, the impact of the missionary movement have helped to convert resignation to age-old evils into revolt against them. Of central importance has been the emphasis upon the worth and dignity of persons.

**As Christians**, we have a special obligation to see both the creative and the destructive possibilities in this new ferment, which the preaching of the gospel has helped to create. The ending of ancient injustices, the movements toward national self-respect and self-government or political independence, the coming into their own of the darker-skinned peoples of the world, the struggle for economic development and social

equality—all these carry with them creative possibilities. On the other hand, the tendencies to excess and to rabid and self-enclosed nationalism, the uprooting of traditional loyalties and disciplines without accepted substitutes, the clear danger of a new tyranny for these peoples in process of emancipation—these have grave portents for the future.

**The other major issue** is the conflict between an aggressive Soviet Communism and the non-Soviet world. To meet this explosive situation responsibly, American policy must meet two immediate requirements. One is to resist the extension of Communist totalitarianism. The other is to avoid a third world war. The need to overcome the threat of both tyranny and war will in all likelihood be with us for a long period and to it the United States must be prepared to commit its power and resources. We cannot succeed in this negative task unless we persistently and constructively seek to establish the positive conditions for peace and justice.

\* \* \* \*

Beyond the immediate challenges of the Soviet and free-world conflict, Christians must insist upon continuing analysis of the possibilities and limitations of coexistence between the Soviet and the free societies. The differences are so fundamental and the lack of confidence on both sides

is so deep and stubborn that anything worthy of the name of reconciliation appears impossible at present. Since it is our Christian faith that God can bring about changes that seem beyond human power, we refuse to believe that such reconciliation is finally impossible.

\* \* \* \*

Every opportunity to develop even a temporary easing of tensions should be seized by the United States, and we should give no grounds for accusations of intransigence or of closing the door to negotiations. By example and persuasion, by humanitarian measures, and by actions in accord with the purposes of the United Nations, America must do all within its power to assist peoples under Soviet Communist rule to cling to the goals of a free and responsible society, in the hope that there may be changes in the Soviet system and policy conducive to freedom and peace.

## **U.S. Responsibility in the World Struggle**

The power of the United States has increased so rapidly in recent decades that it is difficult for our people to be aware of its proportions and of the responsibility it carries with it. As Christians we believe this power is a trust from God; neither a historical accident nor the fruit of special virtue. The Churches are called to help our nation to measure

up to its responsibility and to avoid alike the temptation to use its power recklessly or to evade the burdens it brings.

**Because of the magnitude of** our world responsibilities, we Americans should welcome the counsel and criticism which naturally result from international co-operation. By so doing we may be enabled to use our great power and to express our generosity and our national idealism with greater effectiveness. It is easy to lose patience with the complex ways of international diplomacy. We find it hard to understand why other nations may regard our wealth and our power with a mixture of respect, fear, envy, and misgivings. As a people we must learn to accept other nations not only as partners but also as instruments of judgment on our national action. It is for us to remember that no nation is good enough, wise enough, or strong enough to go its way without a decent respect for the opinions of mankind.

Against this background we American Christians should evaluate United States foreign policy, especially the role of our country in the United Nations and in the various regional security arrangements to which it is a party.

The United Nations came into being as an instrument for peace and co-operative action among nations. Its achievements have been great although the obstacles in the world

situation have been serious. The United Nations has provided a world forum for discussing explosive issues and a means of settlement in a considerable number of situations which otherwise might have led to war. It has been a constant force for collective security; has brought into new focus the oneness of mankind; has given to the world its first comprehensive Declaration of Human Rights; has channeled large sums into the rehabilitation of war-ravaged countries; has set up an extensive program of technical co-operation.

As Christians and citizens of the United States we have an inescapable obligation to support the United Nations as a body essential to the freedom of nations and the peace of the world.

**Within the United States** there are powerful factors moving us toward co-operation, and other forces which would lead us to withdrawal and isolation. Recognition that even enlightened self-interest requires re-

sponsiveness to the world's needs has been shown in the employment of American skill and wealth in rebuilding war-ravaged economies through the Marshall Plan and in upbuilding technically less developed areas through the Point IV program. Over against such acts of statesmanship examples of irresponsibility toward the world community can be cited, such as pressure for restrictive tariff policies, discriminatory sections in the Immigration Act of 1952, and wholesale resistance to continuing foreign aid without offering a constructive alternative. Christian faith teaches us that we are placed by God in an order of material and spiritual interdependence, and that we go against the grain of his order when we fail to recognize that interdependence or to play our full part in the processes of mutual co-operation which it demands.

**The idea of technical assistance** is one of the great ideas of our time. Indifference to existing contrasts between plenty for the few

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### Surplus Foods

In a world where a large proportion of the population is still hungry and malnourished, the United States has a continuing responsibility to see that its surpluses of food are used at home and abroad. Through the Food and Agriculture Organization and other agencies, the United States should continue to strive for ways to assure adequate production and distribution of food to meet the world's need. We commend the steps taken by Congress in 1953 to appropriate money for the disposal of surplus food now on hand, but we call attention to the fact that the steps taken thus far are still inadequate to move the present surpluses to people in need.—*Action of National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order.*

and want for the many cannot be reconciled with the law of love. Moreover, the way in which America shares its skills and resources with peoples endeavoring to improve their conditions of living is of paramount importance.

We should urge upon our Government patient and persistent participation, through its own agencies and through the United Nations, in constructive programs of technical co-operation.

This enterprise in all its aspects should engage the service of persons who possess not only the requisite skills but also a humble sense of vocation and of genuine identification with those among whom they work.

\* \* \* \*

This country is committed to the pursuit of collective security through the UN. We believe that the UN furnishes the basic framework through which our nation should seek its security. Until there has been developed a trustworthy system of collective security under the UN it has been deemed necessary for our Government to join with friends and allies in pacts, such as NATO, for mutual defense in accord with the provisions of the UN Charter.

We urge our Government, therefore, to press for the largest practicable degree of disarmament through the UN, as we seek the goal of universal enforceable disarmament. We urge also that the functions of the

UN in developing moral judgment as to conditions causing tensions and threatening war be magnified. We ask our own Government to take the lead in emphasizing all those activities of the UN which aim at the substitution of good offices, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and the counsel of the world community for armed force as a means of settling disputes.

\* \* \* \*

In the face of the critical and morally perplexing decisions our country must make, the internal health and strength of America are of crucial importance. An informed and courageous public opinion provides the essential support for our policy makers and is a major factor in the meaning of the United States for other peoples. Yet there is a serious danger that in an anxious quest for security in an insecure world, our people shall fail to distinguish between a legitimate security from espionage and a bogus security from dissent. The threats of subversion from within and the much larger threats of aggression from without are real and ugly facts. But security purchased at the price of free discussion is a false security. The demagoguery which, in the name of "Americanism," seeks to exploit fears, foment suspicion, bypass due process of law, and stifle differences of opinion, is a most grievous type of

*(Continued on page 18)*



# Excerpts from Re

## *The National Study Conference*

### **Negotiations**

We believe that the United States should persist in negotiation as the method of settling international disputes in spite of all the frustrations that have been experienced.

Our country should give no ground for the accusation of intransigence or of unwillingness to make a new approach when new possibilities of action arise.

We believe that our Government should be open to such negotiations on all levels, though it is beyond our competence to say in what order negotiations on various levels should proceed.

### **Technical Assistance**

Recognizing the critical importance of increasing the social, economic, and moral strength of the less-developed areas through greater use of technical co-operation and related economic assistance and development programs, we urge:

1. That these programs be recognized as of prime and long-term importance in United States foreign policy.
2. That the United States provide sustained and increasing financial support for the United Nations expanded program of technical assistance.
3. That financial support of the United States technical co-operation program be substantially increased.
4. That separate United States programs be conducted in such a way as to strengthen the United Nations programs of technical assistance.
5. That United States technical co-operation be directed to the service of broad human need and be free from subordination to United States military and strategic requirements.

### **Dependent Peoples**

The United States should support clearly and consistently the principles of the United Nations Charter designed to promote the "well-being of dependent peoples including their advance toward self-government and the development of their free political institutions." The United States should

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## *Churches and World Order*

be prepared to offer technical and financial assistance . . . and to enable countries that have recently achieved their independence to build the necessary economic, social, and political foundations for playing their full part within the interdependent world community.

Since governmental and intergovernmental agencies are restricted in their action in this field, we call upon church, business, and voluntary agencies to explore opportunities to render assistance in these areas, and especially for direct aid to responsible persons and/or groups seeking technical and financial aid for sound and constructive development projects.

### **Racial Tensions and Foreign Policy**

Racial discrimination and segregation in the West, and particularly in the United States, has become a powerful factor in world affairs. Segregation and discrimination in churches, in employment, in housing, in the right to express one's political views, and in public service undercut our moral position among the darker-skinned peoples of Asia and Africa. As American Christians we must do everything in our power to eliminate discrimination, both in our churches and in society at large. We also urge agencies of the United States Government, of philanthropy, and of religion to make their staffs racially inclusive both at home and abroad. While significant progress has been made in eliminating segregation in the United States and in the employment of minority groups in operations abroad, we have a long way to go before even the minimum requirements of democratic heritage are fulfilled.

### **Immigration**

We observe that the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 continues certain negative and restrictive aspects of the immigration law which it has superseded. We believe that the United States needs in this period of world tension a more enlightened immigration policy that is imbued with the spirit of justice and fair play. While acknowledging the complexity of the problem, we believe the allocation of quotas embodied in this legislation is arbitrary, unrealistic, and indirectly discriminatory in character and a more equitable basis of allocation should be sought.

un-Americanism. Through such behavior the strength of America's policy in the world is sapped at its source. Peoples abroad are made to wonder what American freedom now means. Our young people at home are confused by the way the safeguards of freedom are set aside. Genuine security depends on freedom—including the right to dissent from the majority. This is the genius of our democratic inheritance and an unfailing source of our strength. Only by guarding this freedom can America have an informed and courageous public opinion. Only by guarding it can our nation offer leadership to peoples struggling for freedom against powers which brutally suppress all dissent.

**Another source** of America's strength in world affairs is the variety of racial and national groups within our borders. The cry for justice has quickened the national conscience, which finds expression in the progress of racial and cultural relations. Yet this progress moves too slowly to satisfy either the demands of conscience or the needs of world freedom. Every evidence at home of discrimination because of race weakens the influence of America for justice and peace abroad. If our condemnation of racial injustice overseas, such as policies of *apartheid* in

South Africa, is to carry conviction, it must be grounded on a greater measure of racial justice at home. On this issue the need for a courageous Christian witness and action, in obedience to God's will for righteousness, is clear and compelling. Our Churches can make no effective witness here save as we press forward persistently toward making every house of God a place where men of every race and tongue may enter freely to make their peace with God and overcome their estrangement from one another.

One task of the Churches is to leaven public opinion in our nation by a living testimony to the moral law with which God undergirds his world. A nation that considers only its own self-interest will inevitably conceive it too narrowly. As Christians we are called upon to remind the nation of God's truth that "he who loses his life . . . will find it." Our national interest must be defined in terms broad enough to include the rights, needs, and interests of other nations and peoples, including those we now count as hostile. Christians, as members of a world-wide brotherhood, are in a special way the guardians and bearers of this witness.

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# Christ and Business

By JULE AYERS, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, from a sermon preached August, 1953

ON ONE occasion Jesus was asked this important question, "Is it lawful to pay taxes to Caesar, or not?" The question seemed fair enough, but it was a tricky one. Had he answered yes, he would have incensed his countrymen who were writhing under the necessity of paying taxes to Rome. Had he answered no, he would have offended the Roman authorities, since taxes from subject provinces were a part of Rome's rule.

Jesus did not fall into the trap. He replied, "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." This was not an evasion of the issue. He really faced the issue. He said, in effect: "There are certain obligations which a citizen owes to the state. They must be met. There are other obligations which one owes to God alone. Over these the state has no right whatsoever!"

This text, which embodies the principles of "basic loyalty" and "something more," has particular meaning for the theme "Christ and Business."

Let us look at our daily work. A client comes to a lawyer seeking a divorce. The lawyer has represented

him in business in the past. He has a basic loyalty to him as client and friend. Yet he wonders how far he should go in a careful search for the facts to ascertain whether a reconciliation is possible. He experiences the tug of seeking in the situation "basic loyalty" and "something more." The lawyer on other occasions conducts cross-examination of a witness on the stand. He wants to win the case. Yet he wonders whether winning at the cost of ridiculing and unduly confusing a witness is really doing what is right.

A woman goes to a doctor for glasses. He examines her eyes and tells her she does not need glasses. Then several weeks later he meets her on the street and she is wearing glasses. Because he didn't satisfy her desire for glasses, she found a doctor who would. She was determined to have glasses! Oftentimes pills are prescribed, X-rays are taken, and operations are performed which are dictated not so much by actual necessity as by anxiety which craves satisfaction in this way. Like the lawyer the doctor experiences "basic loyalty" and "something more."

A salesman shows a prospect a house. He knows that the heating



plant in that particular building is not in good shape. He desires to be loyal to the owner, whose agent he is, but he also wants the purchaser as a friend and has the reputation of his firm to bear in mind. He can misrepresent the facts, answer only the questions asked, or give all the facts.

This kind of situation is familiar to many of us today, and this principle of "basic loyalty" and "something more" has meaning for us all. People in all kinds of jobs and situations manage to maintain loyalty (where loyalty is due) and to make their time and talent an offering to God. They have their human limitations, and they are not always kind and appreciative. Yet they remember that really they don't work "for" the boss, but he and they work for the company—and in the final analysis they are working for God and with God. Remembering that makes a great deal of difference!

Business that is run in accordance with the Scripture we are considering sees human beings as persons and treats them as such. Many executives today are saying: "Our employees work, not for us, but with us"; "The large corporation must have a heart"; "We must assume leadership in the community."

Labor leaders and representatives are active and of vital help in many parts of the country. They are thinking of "something more" than wages, pensions, and strikes. They and the unions are a tremendous factor in

adult education and in legislation and social welfare for the benefit of the area, the state, and the nation.

## Economic System

There are many reasons for basic loyalty to our capitalistic economic system, but we must never let the economic system be thought of as God, or usurp the place of God. There are certain things we must never give to Caesar—the right of critical judgment, priority over conscience, and the final say as to the shape of things to come. A good wife is her husband's best and most helpful critic. A good nurse ever watches the patient's temperature. We must be grateful for our economic system, but we must not simply "genuflect" before "free enterprise." Christianity must not be wedded to any one culture or any economic system exclusively at any period of history. We should maintain an appreciative and critical attitude toward the economic system. Although there is a "leveling up and a leveling down" of income and wealth, there are still vast concentrations of power today. There is the consequence of the creation of a "mass mind" through inevitably large channels of communication. A premium is placed on acquisitiveness, and false standards of "keeping up with the Joneses" are encouraged. As Christians we should remember that in the final analysis God is the owner of all property and we are his stewards. Yes, in economic life we

shall not forget to "render . . . to God the things that are God's."

## Government

Let us now look at our Government. We hear a great deal today about changing conditions in other lands. We are told that China, India, and Africa are in the process of revolutions. Everywhere life is changing. But we forget that much is changing in the United States too! The book *The Big Change*, by Frederick Lewis Allen, tells of the transitions that have come in American life in the past fifty years. With society in transition, and many, many changes and trends appearing for the better, there develop naturally spokesmen for things as they are, and perhaps also for things as they were. The main differentiation among people in Government today is not between Republicans and Democrats, but between those who want to go forward and those who would freeze the *status quo* or go backward. It is to be expected that all would not relish changing patterns, especially in business, government, and property relations. Perhaps the movement called McCarthyism is a product of the anxiety of some in such a period.

We all feel a basic loyalty to our daily work, our economic system, and to our Government. We are protected by American laws and institutions. When I volunteered and served as a chaplain, I entered military service because I was an American, and

had duties to be discharged as a citizen. Those of us who served in the armed forces helped to protect the right of those who "for conscience' sake" could not render that form of service! We tried to protect all that as citizens we hold dear—including the right of critical judgment!

Along with loyalty to our Government, we seek to be loyal to "something more" too. Reciprocal trade agreements, admission of refugees to the U.S.A., continuance of foreign aid, food for the hungry and oppressed even in East Germany, eventual adoption of the Covenant of Human Rights of the United Nations, and the possibility of our allies (Britain and perhaps Japan) developing trade with China, are part and parcel of the quest to "render . . . to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" but also to "render to God the things that are God's."

Let us open the curtain upon one of the teachings of our Lord that we might see him, and find his Spirit as we face the opportunities of life today. None of us knows what the coming months and years will bring. Like the Master, we may be called before kings and governors to bear testimony for him. Beneath Caesar's superscription on all of us is the stamp of God and to him we belong. May we bear his stamp patiently and bravely unto the end, and "render . . . to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

# Sanctuary



## CHRIST CALLS US TO WITNESS

### Prayer:

O God, as we look out upon the community that is our home, we remember the prayer thou hast taught us and the responsibility that is ours to labor for the coming of thy Kingdom. Through the guidance of thy Holy Spirit may we receive insight and courage to build our communities in accordance with thy commandment. Where there is strife and tumult, doubt or fear, may our faith have the healing power of love and justice. Through Christ. Amen.

### Meditation:

Before our communities can be reclaimed for Christ the members of our churches must be more aware of the strengths and weaknesses, problems and evils, that characterize American community life. Wise community planning and the development of far-sighted goals require concerted study, prayer, and action. The Church's influence on individual lives, and on the corporate life which committed Christians help to fashion in the communities where they live, is a fundamental aspect of Christian faith.

All of the world's fears, injustices, conflicts can be duplicated in American cities and towns. The prejudices and hates that divide mankind, the degrading influences that destroy personality in any part of the world, first gain headway in some local scene.

The non-Christian may be very complacent about these problems and say: "After all, these things take time. They are not concerns of mine. These evils have always existed." Many Americans, some of them members of our churches, take this stand: "There is no need of being fanatic about social issues. Of course, we hate racial discrimination and slums. Of course, we hate drunkenness and corruption in public life, but you have to be practical and put aside that idealism if you are going to get along in the world." But Christians who are truly saved persons have to

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This worship service may be used in connection with the program guide that appears in the January issue of *Outreach*, page 31, under this same title.

be concerned. If we take seriously the words of our Lord, we must respond to the pleas of people for justice and freedom, or we are failing to respond to Christ.

Christ's Spirit and God's sovereignty have to be expressed in concrete terms—in fair employment practices, in good schools, the elimination of slums, the rehabilitation of problem drinkers, the enactment of good laws and conscientious law enforcement.

**Responsive Reading** (*Leader and group read the verses of Matt., ch. 25, responsively, then participate in the following responsive prayer*) :

**Leader:** Let us pray. We pray that within ourselves

**Response:** We will seek a Christian solution for every problem.

**Leader:** We pray that within our community

**Response:** We will not rest our labors until every family is decently housed in neighborhoods free from every taint of racial prejudice.

**Leader:** We pray that within our neighborhood

**Response:** Every child will have the priceless American heritage of adequate education for life, in schools that are properly equipped and by teachers who are highly qualified and adequately rewarded.

**Leader:** We pray that in our churches

**Response:** There will be full opportunity for every man to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.

**Leader:** We pray that in our city hall

**Response:** Honest men and women, elected by informed, conscientious citizens, will be working wholeheartedly for the good of all the community.

**Leader:** We pray that in the future of our community

**Response:** There will be prayerful and wise planning for the well-being, freedom, and full opportunity for human justice in all areas of life to all who live in the boundaries of our town.

**Leader:** And we pray that within each child of God and every disciple of Christ

**Response:** There will be freedom from fear, from hate, from greed, from injustice, from prejudice and bigotry, and that the hope that is in Christ may be made real.

### **Ascription:**

Blessed be the Lord, our God; who only doeth wondrous things.  
And blessed be his glorious name, forever and ever. Amen.

—*Prepared by Margaret E. Kuhn.*



# This Nation Under God—

## A Study Guide on "A Letter to Presbyterians"

By MARGARET E. KUHN, *Associate Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*

THE first coast-to-coast comments on the General Council's *Letter to Presbyterians* of November 3 \* reflected alert and lively interest and deep appreciation of the Council's action. Recent criticisms point up the need to sharpen in our own thinking the issues with which the Letter deals and interpret the right and responsibility of the General Council to speak to the churches. The confused thinking of many churchmen and their inability to sense the real crises of our times underscore the need for continuing study of the state of our nation and world.

Ministers should regard the Letter and opportunities for discussing it as opportunity also for pastoral counseling with laymen who say that controversial social issues are not the business of the Church. The same techniques of establishing rapport, of helping individuals to reach new insights about God's grace and Christ's saving power can be used in explaining the prophetic role of the Church in a hate-torn world.

Ministers and social action leaders and committees need to meet frequently in these anxious days to find ways to make complicated, planetary issues clear to average churchmen. Most people are interested only in their own personal problems and must be helped to see how national and world affairs impinge on their personal lives.

The average churchman wants to act responsibly, and will do so if he can be given specific guidance. Here the historic teaching role of the Church cannot be minimized.

To stimulate thoughtful probing of the grave issues involved, a brief study outline of the Letter is suggested. The topics can be considered in a single meeting, or in a series of meetings. The recommended bibliography will aid discussion leaders in their preparation, and will give church members additional information and insight.

A study of the Letter is urgent and timely for:

- Midweek prayer meetings where small groups gather in private homes or church.

\* Published in *Presbyterian Life*, November 14, 1953.

- Adult Bible classes and meetings of church school teachers.

- Regular meetings of sessions and church officers.

- Sunday night forums and week-day church night meetings.

- Men's groups and women's associations and circles.

In approaching any form of serious study our church leaders, particularly ministers, should make clear that differences of opinion are welcomed rather than feared and that all points of view should be fully and freely expressed in the spirit of good will and mutual respect. God is the judge of all judgments of men, and the attitudes and opinions of any one individual or group are subject also to the correction of fellow Christians. The emphasis should be on the search for the meaning of God's sovereignty and man's common kinship and dependence. Such groups should:

1. **Discuss our Presbyterian heritage** and its long tradition of social concern, guided by Calvin, Knox, Witherspoon, and modern leaders of the Church.

2. **Consider the tragic silence** of the Church in Nazi Germany as Hitler rose to power and other times in the world's history when the Church has failed to be prophetic and to give guidance to its people about the "principles established by God for the life of men and nations."

3. **Study the social pronouncements** of General Assembly and the process by which churchmen strive

to find the mind of Christ and to give guidance to churches in responsible social witness to Christ and his teachings.

4. **Review the function** and representative membership of the General Council, stressing that responsible lay leadership share in its deliberations.

5. **Study the proposed revisions** in the "ground rules" for Congressional investigations. A resolution sponsored by Rep. Kenneth S. Keating of New York would add a code for the conduct of investigations to the present House Rules, thus eliminating many objectionable aspects of current inquiries.

**Church officers**, especially sessions, should give attention to the Letter in regular meetings, considering: (1) the prevailing opinion among members of the congregation about civil liberties, freedom, and Communism; (2) appropriate steps church leaders may take to help members of the congregation to be informed about the crucial issues before our nation; (3) the most flagrant violations of civil liberties and instances of human need to which the church must give attention; (4) the insidious effect of the present trend toward negativism and the historic responsibility of the church to guide its members in the development of a positive, dynamic faith that casts out fear.

**The basic issues** dealt with in the Letter which should receive thought

and clarification in these study groups are as follows:

1. Communism is a threat today, and vigilant and wise measures are needed to "forestall its insidious intervention in the internal affairs of our country."

2. The American mind seems so obsessed with a morbid fear of subversive influence that it is blind to many other dangers in the nation and the world.

3. Many Americans are so afraid of the threat of Communism that they are willing to use the very methods they profess to abhor in the Soviet to keep our nation secure.

4. Although the American Constitution defines treason very precisely (see Article III, Section 3), treason has not been distinguished from dissent, and from the right of free people to take unpopular positions on public questions.

5. Charges of disloyalty are directed against many loyal citizens whose concern for social justice prompts them to speak out about such matters as racial discrimination, economic exploitation, nationalism.

6. In a national climate of suspicion and fear some Congressional investigations have become inquisitions in the manner of medieval Spain. Basic American concepts that men are innocent until proved guilty by due process of law are pushed aside.

7. All forms of feudalism and

colonial imperialism are outmoded and foredoomed in our world. The question is what constructive methods can be found to assist struggling peoples to be free and to found more just governments where men may live abundantly.

8. No repression of civil liberties at home, or strong-arm coercion of our allies around the world, will successfully defeat Communism.

9. Powerful influences in our country seek to undermine the United Nations and limit our participation in its agencies and projects.

10. In the community of nations moral leadership is required of our nation under God in the encouragement of patient, hopeful negotiation, aid to suffering peoples in their search for justice.

11. Irresponsibility of the public press and other mass media tends to keep great blocks of the American public uninformed about national and world affairs.

12. Protestant Christians need to be more alert to the influences of totalitarianism in government and religion.

### Bibliography

*The Loyalty of Free Men*, by Alan Barth. Pocket Books, Inc. 35 cents.

*The Apostles of Discord*, by Ralph Lord Roy. Beacon Press. \$3.75.

Order copies of *A Letter to Presbyterians* from the Office of the General Assembly, 510 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. 2 cents.

# Christian ACTION

## UN NEWS NOTES

A special conference of Non-Governmental Organizations was held Nov. 11-14 by the Department of Public Information at the headquarters building in New York. It was attended by 150 representatives and observers. The purpose was to examine various subjects pertaining to education and to gather information about the UN.

The Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, declared that one of the most vital problems today was "the evolution of public opinion toward the development of those sentiments of international solidarity to which the UN gives life and substance."

### Conference Facts

- UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) has become a continuing fund, made up of contributions from Governments and from peoples. Over a five-year period, aid has been given to 76 countries—currently it goes to 72. In all cases, only that help is given which the country cannot supply, and what is given must at least be equaled by the country, so the amount of aid is doubled by the time

it reaches the children. The countries currently being helped have more than half the world's children. Many workers must be trained, clinics with simple equipment set up, vaccines supplied and techniques taught for using them. Antibiotics plants have been set up in India, Japan, Yugoslavia, and Chile. In Indonesia 350,000 children have been cured of yaws. It is hoped to bring the disease under control in five years. One dollar provides enough penicillin to treat 5 children for yaws—or to vaccinate 24 children against tuberculosis—or enough DDT to protect 20 people against malaria.

- A tuberculosis university has been set up in Cairo to serve students from Arab nations. It is sponsored by Egypt's Ministry of Health and the World Health Organization.

- A new educational picture in Afghanistan is due to what the Government has undertaken with aid from UNESCO—an educational film library, sixty new rural schools, an institute for training secondary-school teachers, series of courses in home economics for women. An agricultural college is being organized,



an engineering college expanded. •Because of a visiting team from UNESCO, Burma has more than doubled its budget for education, has plans to open 1,000 new primary, 200 new junior secondary, 40 new senior secondary schools and a new teacher training college.

Report was received from Beirut regarding the three-day Congress on New Medical Developments under the patronage of the President of Lebanon, Camille Chamoun, assisted by the WHO, Lebanese Red Cross, UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and universities of Beirut and Damascus.

Anxious to safeguard to the greatest extent possible the physical and mental health of these people, they used school services, general clinic and hospital services, special clothing, feeding, and milk distribution services. While all must be helped as far as possible, special attention to young people was paramount. Their report showed that health problems of displaced populations and the medical supply program, shortage of health personnel, doctors, nurses, sanitary engineers, laboratory workers plague every country.

•The NGO representatives asked many questions about political hot spots. Some brief items are of general interest:

**Palestine** is one of the most emotion-colored questions before the UN. The refugee situation is serious;

constructive remedial measures as well as relief go steadily on; justice has not been meted out to the dispersed people; the new state Israel has aided many who sought refuge there; the fighting that breaks out occasionally shows the bitter feeling on both sides. Bad as the situation is, if there had been no UN mediation, warfare would have continued and many lives lost. Processes now available may someday bring stability and justice.

**Kashmir**—In 1948, India and Pakistan were on the verge of war over Kashmir whose Hindu ruler had decided to join India. The population was largely Moslem and fighting broke out. A cease-fire line was established and plans for a plebiscite set up. For five years the UN observers have watched over this tense situation while the Security Council has been trying to get the two countries to agree to carry out the plebiscite. A door to peaceful settlement is still open and now and then it seems that the countries may themselves come to agreement.

**Balkans**—Watchdog teams are still in that area and surely keep down border incidents. Their reports of condemnation of the Communist neighbors of Greece gave the moral justification for U.S. aid which has brought Greece to its present state of rehabilitation. In spite of urging the return of Greek children taken during the war, few have gone back.

—*Mabel Head, UN observer*

## ★ *Citizenship* ★

SOMETIMES we are prone to forget that our country has a religious heritage unparalleled in the history of the world. The things that make us great as a people spring from our Judaeo-Christian tradition.

With few exceptions the men and women who founded this nation and set up its government and institutions were God-fearing people—men and women who “lived” their religion. Our Constitution and other historical documents bear eloquent testimony to this fact. Our national legislative sessions open with prayer, our currency bears the inscription “In God We Trust,” and the Sabbath Day is formally observed in our institutional practices.

As King Paul of Greece said, as he sailed for home after his recent six-week tour of America, “The fundamental goodness of the American people contributes more to the greatness of the United States than its armed might.” Never was there a greater need for this to be translated once again into our everyday political life.

We go to press on the eve of the important and unprecedented three-day conference which the President has called with his legislative leaders. The program and policies of the coming Congressional session, which opens on January 6, will be plotted, threshed out, and decided upon at

this vital meeting. This conference is on the national level, but in many respects it signals vigilance and work on the part of Christians in the local communities.

As our SEA leaders’ manual states: “Discipleship in this changing world requires commitments beyond vague and conventional ideas of ‘goodness.’ Christians seek to know the mind of Christ and to appraise all issues and problems by his standards. Christ’s teachings find expression in concrete terms—in good schools, fair employment practices, the elimination of slums, the safeguarding of civil liberties, the enactment of laws that protect the rights and well-being of all people.”

**We must balance** our devotional lives with courageous action in the political and social fields. “A parched earth looks to the hills for its rivers, its streams, its life.” Christians must furnish this vitality to the body politic.

This influence can be brought to bear in many ways. Active participation in community gatherings such as parent-teacher meetings, leadership in church action groups, attendance at city and town council meetings, exercise of the voting franchise on all occasions, personal conformance with fair employment practices, and intelligent action on all matters

affecting the community's welfare are but a few of the opportunities for individual stewardship.

Congressmen and Senators should be kept informed of conditions and opinions in local areas on all issues. Courageous action by these men in behalf of projects and programs vital to the nation's welfare should be applauded by a personal note of appreciation, and likewise disapproval should be expressed when the need arises. Nothing is more influential with a member of Congress than a thoughtful letter from a constituent.

This coming session of the 83d Congress faces the heaviest agenda in years. Pending action by the President's legislative conference, it is not certain just which bills will be put in the "must" classification. However, two major bills are ready for action when the session convenes. One of these is the controversial St. Lawrence seaway bill and the other is the Bricker Amendment. The latter is opposed by the Administration, and at this writing there is no indication as to what will be the outcome on this issue.

Other matters on the tentative agenda are the increase in the debt ceiling, tax revision, the suggestion to cancel the scheduled January 1 increase in Social Security payroll taxes, Social Security extension and expansion, Hawaiian statehood, Taft-Hartley revision, reciprocal trade program, foreign aid, farm price sup-

ports, slum clearance, low-cost housing, and many others.

**If a sound and effective program**, geared to the nation's welfare, is to be found and put into practice, Christian citizens must make their influence felt. This must be done on the local, state, and national levels. Opportunities must be sought and ways found to generate and channel our Christian faith into practical political operations. We must find the time and make the effort to be well informed, to take positions on all issues, and to run for office if need be.

In the words of a recent issue of an Episcopal devotional booklet: "Christians who are genuinely alive and true to their Master impart taste and savor to society. They make a difference so that the community with them is entirely different from the community without them."

**Where to begin**—A good beginning for a church group would be a study of the community, using the materials prepared by the Department: *The Church and the Community*—Instructor's Manual, \$1.00; Discussion Guide, 50 cents. Order from any Presbyterian Distribution Service. These manuals will help leaders to think through the problems they face in the community and to plan a program of Christian action in the community.

—Helen Lineweaver

# About Books

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**Christian Realism and Political Problems**, by Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.00.

In these eleven critical essays America's foremost living theologian brings his incisive insights into the Christian understanding of human nature to bear upon such crucial areas of political concern as foreign policy (conservative and liberal aberrations); world government ("It is this hope [of creating a world community by fiat] which adds a touch of pathos to already tragic experiences"); and the Christian witness in the social and national order ("We [Christians] are too deeply implicated in the disaster of our day to permit ourselves more than provisional testimony against a so-called secular society").

This is not a book of "techniques" for Christian political action, nor is it replete with sermon illustrations. Rather, it is a characteristically Niebuhrian exposition of the basic realities which the Christian must take into account before he can have any realistic understanding of, or consider any practical incursion into, the arena of political debate and action.

Christian realism is not the op-

posite of idealism for Dr. Niebuhr. As always it is the wise middle course between the naïve sentimentalism of the liberal who does not take seriously the power of self-love in the social order and the equally naïve "realism" of the conservative who takes self-love seriously in principle but who draws premature and erroneous conclusions from it.

*Christian Realism and Political Problems* is an excellent antidote to the oversimplifications which abound in the homiletical journals which frequently make up the main course of a preacher's literary diet.  
—H.B.S.

**The Refugee Intellectual, The Americanization of the Immigrants of 1933-1941**, by Donald Peterson Kent. Columbia University Press. \$5.00.

Since Congress has recently authorized the admission of 214,000 more refugees, and our Church is again called upon to provide assurances, this book is especially timely.

Many of us have had experiences with these uprooted people, but this book gives a revealing, statistical, and personal insight into the complexities of their assimilation into our American life. Here is the prod-



uct of a research project and a factual account of what actually happens to the intellectual refugee after he comes to this country.

The refugee "professional person" faces many problems of adjustment in common with the flood of relatively poor and uneducated immigrants to America, but he also faces a number of unusual ones. By interview and questionnaire, Dr. Kent has studied the ways in which our language has been learned, friends have been made, the business of making a livelihood conquered, and utilizing the skills of past experience, as well as the participation in community affairs, achieved.

A study has been made of the many variable factors that condition the refugees' adjustment to American life. Dr. Kent, a professor of sociology at the University of Connecticut, has questioned about ten per cent of the total group of refugee intellectuals. The statistical tables and study forms that he has compiled afford a scientific evaluation of many formerly intangible opinions.

Reading this book is a must for those who have any extended contact with the intellectual refugee. The average reader will also profit in finding a larger sympathy with the D.P.

The frank and sometimes cutting remarks that these refugees make of many of our practices in dealing with them is the kind of sound criticism we ought to have but do not often re-

ceive. The author has included some sixty tables and many fascinating comments from the refugees. The book is well worth reading.

—*John Bouquet*

**Economy in the National Government**, by Paul H. Douglas. The University of Chicago Press. \$3.75.

This book deals with a matter that is of vital importance to every citizen of the United States. Senator Douglas, who for many years taught economics at the University of Chicago, warns that the Federal budget must be balanced to prevent inflation and catastrophe. The problem is how to reduce governmental expenditures without endangering our defense against Communist aggression. Dealing with specific items, he shows how expenditures might be reduced in both the civilian and military budgets without weakening our defense program. These savings would amount to \$7,500,000,000 in one year. If these measures fail to balance the budget, the author believes that a general tax rate increase will be necessary.

The person who reads this book will become a better-informed citizen. He will learn how the Federal budget is prepared; he will learn some startling facts (86½ per cent of all national expenditures in 1951-1952 went for defense and payments for past wars); he will learn about waste and pressure groups which will alarm and sometimes anger him.

**SOCIAL PROGRESS**

Surely he will feel ashamed of the selfishness of the average citizen. Surely he will have more understanding of the tremendous task confronting honest Senators and Congressmen.

—*Earle W. Crawford*

**Man's Search for Himself**, by Rollo May. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. \$3.50.

The early chapters of this book, by a practicing psychotherapist of New York, picture the emptiness of modern man, citing causes and results. He writes of the "gyroscope man," one with a hard, mechanical selfish center—power without ability to change, strength without capacity to learn, as one example. In the opening pages, "The Roots of Our Malady," he portrays his viewpoint: "The chief argument of this book is that the unique powers and initiative of each individual must be rediscovered." On the constructive side Dr. May gives much emphasis to the idea of selfhood, how it develops, how it may be kept wholesome. Our task, so he concludes, is to rediscover the sources of strength and integrity within ourselves. But there is no ground for thinking of ourselves as apart from others or from God. Over

and over again at various points where wholesome, sound, creative, positive testimony is called for he turns to the teachings of Jesus. The book is in no sense a defense of or exposition of the Christian position about man. It is very suggestive, at least to this reviewer, in an objective approach to fundamentals.

—*John C. White*

**Economics in the Public Service**, by Edwin G. Nourse. Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc. \$6.00.

The Employment Act of 1946 was something new in history. With it the U.S., reaching forward to the conscious expression of a national economic philosophy, undertook to organize its business future so that free enterprise would be more fruitful and free government more secure. To accomplish this purpose a Council of Economic Advisers was appointed to advise the President, and provision was made for a Joint Economic Committee of Congress. As chairman of the Council for the first three years of its existence, Dr. Nourse presided over the inauguration of this far-reaching experiment. The present book is his description of the events and the men involved and his forecast for the future.

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**Social Progress**—If your church does not already have a quantity subscription, you may want to urge that each family begin the new year with a subscription. The magazine provides up-to-date information from a Christian point of view on many current social problems. Attractive group rates are available on request.

# Give us this day our daily bread . . .

WHEN WE pray "*Give us this day our daily bread,*" we are affirming the unity of the material and the spiritual. We are acknowledging that our thirst for God is rooted in the fact that we are children of the earth who may find the confidence, strength, and continuous renewal that comes from organic intimacy between the ongoing processes of nature and our own lives. God's creation belongs to all his children—to East and West, to older and younger civilizations, to more- and to less-privileged people—who, like the members of a family, must learn to share with each other all material and spiritual good. The resources of the earth must be shared by all God's children and not belong to the privileged few of any class, race, or nation. In some parts of the world this sharing will involve redistribution of the earth itself, in others it will mean increase of production of that which is needed by all. We cannot pray for daily bread without reaffirming the dignity of work. Since work is essential for man's fulfillment, we must strive to see that all men have the opportunity to work irrespective of race or of creed.

—*Courtesy of the National Board,  
Young Women's Christian Association.*

## Toward a Nonsegregated Church

THE social action emphasis in February is race relations. The theme reminds us of our Christian duty to deal with all men in such a way as not to be influenced by their racial backgrounds. This is a duty for church sessions to keep in mind as they go about their important business of interviewing prospective church members and receiving them into the Christian fellowship. Said the last General Assembly, "We urge every pastor and session to observe in spirit and practice that the sole Constitutional basis for church membership is faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour." There is no place for racial discrimination in the church.

The minister of a large monochromatic church who calls up a fellow minister whose church serves a racially inclusive constituency and says, concerning a minority person who has been attending services, "Please take this lady off our hands," is acting in a decidedly un-Presbyterian manner.

We all can be proud of our Church's progress in the direction of nonsegregation. Every month we hear of churches and Church-related institutions which are beginning to practice racial integration.

But we have a long way to go before our witness is clear. A very large proportion of our churches are satisfied to be segregated, and a great many of them would do their utmost to maintain a pattern of segregation in church membership and in church life. A few of our Presbyterian-related colleges are still guilty for one reason or another of discriminatory practices in receiving students and appointing faculty members. Most Church-related orphanages and homes for the aged operate on a strictly racially segregated basis. We can hardly deny that the church lags far behind other institutions of society in achieving integration and that in most American communities democracy is at low ebb at eleven o'clock on Sunday mornings.

We know, of course, how ingrained and stubborn are the attitudes that make it exceedingly difficult for many churches and



institutions to move out of the pattern of segregation. Many laymen and ministers have true Christian zeal in this matter but do not know how to proceed. They do not know what to do or how far and how fast to go in taking initial steps toward racial integration. At this point, the Department of Social Education and Action is a resource to which all leaders in local churches and in Church-related institutions may turn for counsel and assistance.

## Causes of Industrial Peace

THE National Planning Association has recently completed a series of important studies of industrial organizations that have been enjoying labor peace and economic prosperity. The results of this study are being made available in a series of fifteen pamphlets, each of which is a report and analysis of one company's experience. They are "must" reading for all who are interested in labor-management relations.

The study committee concludes that the underlying "causes of industrial peace" are the following:

- There is full acceptance by management of the collective bargaining process and of unionism as an institution. The company considers the strength of its union as an asset to management.
- The union fully accepts private ownership and operation of the industry; it recognizes that the welfare of its members depends upon the successful operation of the business.
- The union is strong, responsible, and democratic.
- The company stays out of the union's internal affairs; it does not seek to alienate the workers' allegiance to the union.
- Mutual trust and confidence exists between the parties.
- Neither party to bargaining has adopted a legalistic approach to the solution of problems in the relationship.
- Negotiations are "problem-centered"—more time is spent on day-to-day problems than in defining abstract principles.
- There is widespread union-management consultation and highly developed information sharing.

It should be clearly understood that the National Planning Association's study was neither pronunion nor promanagement in its orientation. The study committee was composed of sincere representatives of all points of view who were capable of objectivity.

## We Need Subscribers

FROM time to time our readers need to be reminded that SOCIAL PROGRESS is a subscription magazine. It is published for a price. The fact that ministers and seminary students get it without paying merely means that their subscriptions are paid, fully and properly, by funds made available to the Department of Social Education and Action.

In addition to those who are on the subsidized list the magazine goes regularly to a considerable group of persons who are individual subscribers. Our editorial "peace of mind" is considerably dependent upon the size of the individual subscription list. When this list falls below 3,500 we are worried. As we begin 1954 the list is below the 3,500 mark.

We need your help in finding new subscribers. We are proud of our magazine to the extent that we believe that key leaders in every local church ought to have it and read it regularly. We know of one church in which the session sees to it that the following persons receive SOCIAL PROGRESS: members of the session, church school superintendent, teachers of three adult classes, members of the board of deacons, officers of the women's association, officers of Presbyterian Men's chapter, adviser and officers of Westminster Fellowship.

This church also places a number of copies of each issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS on the literature table alongside copies of *Today*. We like this idea very much. Quantity subscriptions are available at attractive low rates.

## Race Relations Institutes

A NUMBER of regional institutes on racial and cultural relations will be held in 1954 under the sponsorship of an interdenominational committee working with the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. There will be strong Presbyterian participation in all of these significant conferences which are now in their sixth year. The dates and places are as follows:

Lincoln University, Pa.

July 12-17, 1954

Los Angeles, Calif.

July 19-24, 1954

Kansas City, Mo.

August 2-7, 1954

A special institute on human relations, with special reference to Indian problems, will be held in South Dakota, perhaps in Sisseton, May 10-14,

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1954. Presbyterian and Congregational Christian social action departments are taking leadership in this meeting.

The institutes are laboratories in practical Christian brotherhood. Emphasis is given to methods and techniques that can be used in improving race relations in local communities and in developing inclusive churches and Church-related institutions.

Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS who are interested in attending should write to the Department of Social Education and Action in Philadelphia.

## Preview

THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS features race relations. The National Council of Churches' annual message for Race Relations Sunday, February 14, 1954, is presented in the "Sanctuary" section, pages 16 and 17. This message is only one section of the current packet for Race Relations Sunday, available from the National Council of Churches. Program suggestions for adult groups have been prepared by Margaret Kuhn.

Three important articles deal with various aspects of the brotherhood theme. In the first article, Dr. Frank Wilson, of Howard University, lays the religious and moral groundwork for human fellowship. The writing bears the mark of Dr. Wilson's incisive thinking and unusual eloquence. Dr. Fleming, of the Southern Regional Council, presents in his article an analytical report of the public-schools segregation cases now before the Supreme Court of the United States. The third article is by Galen R. Weaver, well known for his effective leadership in the field of race relations. He discusses the status and future of our Indian neighbors, of whose problems we have been all too little aware.

An unusual feature is the letter written by Dr. Horace Mann Bond, of Lincoln University, to Sarah Longman, Citizenship chairman of Westminster Fellowship National Council, in answer to certain questions raised by our national youth leaders.

Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS will be interested also in the UN section, the legislative notes, and the Christian Action features prepared by Mr. Sissel, Miss Lineweaver, and Mrs. Harder. The "Christian Action" section includes as well excerpts from *The Christian Century's* pertinent analysis of UN achievements.

Clifford Earle

# A Faith for Brotherhood

By FRANK T. WILSON, *Dean, School of Religion, Howard University; member Social Education and Action Counseling Committee. Excerpts from an address delivered at the Racial and Cultural Institute, Lincoln University, July, 1953*

FROM many quarters today reminders are coming of man's increasing sense of anxiety, loneliness, and estrangement. This note is being sounded by persons who decry our abandonment of a religious basis of faith and life, as well as by many who have been the lusty exponents of the idea of man's self-sufficiency. Representatives of religion might be expected to manifest some concern over the walls of partition which separate the children of God, but there are equally notable signs of distress among those who rely upon the force of government, economics, and education to establish secure foundations of unity in an interdependent world.

Systems of transportation and communication have brought us within physical reach of our fellow men, but lack of respect and trust among men has reduced our abilities to utilize the fruits of this nearness for the common good. Travel, trade, and technology have made physical isolation impossible. Hardness of heart, treachery and duplicity in managing the materials and machinery of our world have made

tensions, hostility, and estrangement inevitable.

## Removing the Hindrances

Some observers of the current scene report that "walls are tumbling" at more and more vital spots in our national life. Oppressive practices are changing into more fluid systems of human relationship in which neither law nor custom may deny to capable and responsible persons the fullest exercise of their talents, skills, and abilities for the enrichment of our culture and in serving the needs of mankind.

Many of these dramatic and highly publicized developments have been prompted by external circumstances such as the appeal to unity and loyalty among all the people when a nation is at war. Many gestures toward community are in some ways efforts to achieve certain practical advantages. Such calculated bargains in brotherhood may bring transitory gains, and they do mitigate the disruptive influence of otherwise unrelieved tensions and hostilities. But the terms are conditional, contingent upon sanctions other than



voluntary expressions of good will. These are "bargains in brotherhood" that are perhaps attractive but limited in durability and shoddy in quality.

### **Brotherhood Established in Creation**

Brotherhood is not guaranteed by any kind of intergroup organization. Its essence may be lacking even in plans and structures that bear the name of "fellowship." Rather, it is a condition, a spirit, a relationship, and a way of life. And all of these spring from a fundamental faith. The faith in which the idea of brotherhood is grounded must be rugged enough to absorb the contradictions of history, and sufficiently robust to withstand the denials and rejections by which acceptance and mutual support between members of the family of God have been obstructed and so long delayed.

This faith affirms that God, the Creator of life, has placed upon every person the stamp of supreme worth. Within every man there is inherent significance and inviolable dignity by virtue of his sonship in the family of God. These attributes of worthfulness and dignity are not conferred upon some men by other men, nor are they earned as a consequence of personal identification with historic institutions. This is not a status granted by the disinterested liberality of the human mind, nor a distinction conceded in recognition

of one's social usefulness. This is a birthright which may be traded away slavishly, stupidly, or recklessly, but it cannot be taken nor can it be given at the bidding of another creature.

A second element in a faith for brotherhood is that in the nature of man there is need for community. That which is deepest within us must be shared. Unity is at the foundation of our existence. In the details of our living there are distortions and false directions resulting from pride and greed and the use of power over the lives of other men. The experience of unity in freedom is corrupted by the willfulness of men who presume to constrict the boundaries of human association to protect some special privilege or preserve some privately cherished indulgence.

Life seeks life in the quest for goodness, truth, and beauty. In the upward reaches of the mind there is discovery of a kinship not affected by the distinguishing marks of cultural labels. In all experiences that reveal men's status as sons of God, community in thought and feeling is the necessary condition of life itself. Here is the full meaning of these words in the letter to the Ephesians: "You are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God." There is neither aloofness nor systematic avoidance of one individual or one group by another unless the feeling

of strangeness has been engendered by environmental conditioning.

The naturalness of human communication is demonstrated in the way children give themselves wholeheartedly to games and other forms of group experience when they are uncorrupted by the fears and negative admonitions of adults. Those who are unspoiled by the overt and subtle forces of restraint have a spontaneity that finds enrichment through participation in activities and ideas beyond the boundaries of race, creed, or class.

In America we face a challenging opportunity, especially in this hour when our wisdom and our sincerity are being questioned all around the world. For the assertion of our own integrity, and for reassurance to peoples in other lands, there is need for a demonstration that we have neither renounced the ethical imperatives of the Judaeo-Christian faith nor abandoned the declaration for freedom and equality in the "great American dream."

The experience of brotherhood is real. It draws upon resources sufficient to offset the periodic invasions of bigots, demagogues, and hate-mongers. In this adventure, the Christian must affirm his essential unity with all men in the very ground of his being. There can be no willful separation of man from man in the interest of exclusive privileges, nor deliberate exploitation for the special advantage of particular in-

dividuals and groups. Life must be shared in its totality. Society has significance only as it fulfills service to the needs and interests of all men.

### **Love, the Law of Life**

The achievement of the highest possibilities in individual life and in human society is based upon the use of all the resources and opportunities that any culture can provide. All the machinery of modern civilization and all the bounty of the earth are conceived properly as but tools for giving specific content and direction to that love which is the substance of our hope for tomorrow and which can become the controlling power in our lives today.

In sharing this hope and in communicating this power, who shall say to any man, "Thus far and no farther"? By what logic or necessity do we stop at barriers of custom or tradition? Why must one man, or one group, seek to maintain advantage by discounting and discrediting the "outgroup"? Why do we struggle to perpetuate even the remnants of a social formula based upon spurious ascriptions of "inferior" and "superior"? Why are we willing to exert so much effort and squander so much time and money in artificial stimulation of a system that violates the dignity of man and defies the love of God?

As Christians, what we believe about man and human society issues from our conception of God as

Creator-Redeemer. By this our way of life is informed and from it issue the spirit and the method of communing with our fellow men. In Jesus is the supreme manifestation of what man is, and is to become. In him is revealed God's love as the power through which all fullness is achieved. Only such love, human and divine, is sufficient to the redemption, reconciliation, and reconstruction of the organized life of man. Love knows no boundaries. It makes no pretense. It has no fear. In it there are no calculations for special privilege, no maneuvers for unearned advantage.

### Our Assets

As we move forward in lifting our actual unity to the purposeful level here are some specific assets:

- A general acceptance of the idea of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

- Some understanding of the inner demands of all human life for opportunities to grow into full stature as sons of God.

- Continuing faith in democracy as a way of life suited to wholesome growth of persons and responsible participation in promoting the common good.

- Increasing uneasiness about the judgment of God upon a society that subverts his demands for justice, mercy, and love in the public as well as in the private affairs of all the people.

The co-operative activity of free men is essential for the maximum development of persons and also for the flourishing of the best elements in our culture. We must work to preserve the gains that have been made in building toward the greater identification of man with man in a common endeavor for fullness of life, and then move forward boldly to more difficult tasks in the future.

### Our Tasks

Now and in all the days ahead, we are called to an engagement involving our own intentions and the hopes of mankind. The seriousness of this call will require that we do at least these things with all our might:

- Work to keep alive man's belief in and desire for a world community of friendly men.

- Strive to establish local manifestations of genuine democratic community where we live and work.

- Recognize the global scope and significance of local and national achievements in democracy.

- Maintain a critically responsible attitude toward all human institutions.

- Work for the establishment of a life of abundance, freedom, and justice in a system that guarantees that the supreme worth of every man will be respected, the creative and productive contribution of every person accepted, and conditions for the highest development of everyone assured.

# Segregation on Trial

By HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Director of Information, Southern Regional Council*

WAS the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution intended to ban segregation in the public schools? Does the Supreme Court have the right to outlaw racial separation of school children? Does the Supreme Court have the power to order a gradual rather than an immediate end to public-school segregation?

During the second week of December, the nation's highest court heard eleven hours of legal debate on these and related questions. Not since the century-old Dred Scott Case has the Supreme Court entertained an issue of such profound significance to Negro-white relations. The Court's awareness of this significance is evident in the amount of time and argument it has required to reach a decision. The five public-school cases have been under consideration for over a year, and the December hearing marked the second time they have been argued before the justices.

In four of the five cases, Negro parents have challenged the right of the states to prescribe racially separate schools for their children. The plaintiffs in all these cases—which originated in such diverse communities as Clarendon County, S. C., Prince Edward County, Va., Wilm-

ington, Del., and Topeka, Kans.—are represented by the legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The fifth case involves the public-school system of the District of Columbia. It presents special questions, since the District is a Federal jurisdiction governed directly by Congress.

**Although the cases** raise the single broad question, Is public-school segregation constitutional?, each of them poses it in a somewhat different way. In Clarendon County, S. C., the lower Federal court upheld segregation but ordered school authorities to equalize the admittedly unequal facilities and report their progress at the end of six months. The decision was promptly appealed to the Supreme Court, which sent it back to the lower court for further findings. When the lower court found the six months' progress report satisfactory, the NAACP again appealed to the Supreme Court to strike down segregation. The Virginia case followed much the same pattern, although no progress report was called for.

By contrast, the Federal court in Kansas found the Topeka schools physically equal in every respect.



The court agreed with the plaintiffs that segregation itself worked a psychological hardship on the Negro children. But it declined to rule against segregation in the absence of a guiding decision by the Supreme Court.

The Delaware case, uniquely, was tried in the state courts. Finding the Negro schools grossly inferior to those provided for whites, the trial judge ordered the Negro children admitted to the white schools. He did not hold segregation as such unconstitutional, but declared that schools that are not equal cannot be separate. In his view, subsequently by the Delaware Supreme Court, the Negro children were entitled to equality at once, rather than at some future time.

The Washington, D. C., case turned upon the interpretation of Congressional acts. School authorities maintained that various laws passed by Congress required segregation in the District school system. Negro parents argued that they did not—indeed, could not under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

**The doctrine of “separate but equal”** education which is now on trial has a long and disreputable history. Even spokesmen for the Southern states do not deny that separate schools provided for Negroes have been inferior in almost every instance. Instead, they argue

that the South is now making a multimillion dollar effort to equalize school plants and instruction for the two races and should be allowed to continue within the traditional pattern of segregation. However, the undeniable progress that many Southern states are making should not obscure the huge gap that remains. To generalize for the whole region, white school plants are still three to four times the value of Negro school plants. The price of equalization of these facilities is well over a billion dollars. And to this must be added the cost of bringing annual operating expenses for the two races into parity—another million and a half dollars per year.

Assuming for the moment that the South will be permitted to keep its dual school system, how long will equalization take? Some states would move faster than others, of course, but an over-all average of ten years is a conservative guess.

**The cases before the Supreme Court** go far beyond these questions of inequality and when and how it may be remedied. They challenge the very heart of segregation, based as they are on the contention that racial separation itself, regardless of how equal the separate facilities may be, violates the Fourteenth Amendment. That amendment declares that no state shall deny to any person “equal protection of the laws.” At the December hearing, attorneys for

the NAACP told the Court that this language was meant to eliminate all state legislation that classified citizens by race or color, and so should not be construed as permitting segregation. On the other hand, attorneys for the affected states maintained that nothing in the amendment can properly be interpreted as outlawing segregation; its purpose, they said, was to guarantee Negroes access to equal facilities, not necessarily access to the same facilities as white persons. An Assistant Attorney General, speaking on behalf of the national Administration, said that evidence of the intent behind the amendment is inconclusive, but that the Court can and should order an end to segregation.

On the matter of the proper remedy if segregation is found unconstitutional, opinion among the lawyers was similarly divided. The NAACP asked only for an order ending segregation at once. The defendant states said that if a change was required, it should be allowed to come gradually. The Attorney General's office also proposed a gradual transition, to be carried out within a period of a year or so under the direction of Federal district courts. Thus, it was suggested, there would be time for necessary changes in state laws and administrative rules, as well as in public acceptance.

It will probably be a matter of months before the Supreme Court renders a decision, and what it will

be no one can say with certainty. Legally, the possibilities are many. The Court could flatly uphold segregation, or order it abolished forthwith. The Court could order segregation ended within a specified period of time, or it could leave that question to the discretion of the lower courts. Some lawyers have suggested that the Court might adopt an approach that would treat each case separately, according to the particular findings.

**There is a prevalent tendency,** found among both friends and enemies of segregation, to oversimplify the meaning of the impending decision. In some of the Southern states, unscrupulous political leaders seek to make capital out of the uneasiness with which most white Southerners view a possible decision against segregation. They deliberately spread the notion that such a decision would produce abrupt and sweeping changes. They predict (and thus inevitably encourage) bitter and violent resistance to desegregation. In the guise of Southern champions, they propose drastic plans to replace public education with the subterfuge of state-subsidized "private" schools.

Less dangerous, but equally unrealistic, are those who look to the Court decision and its enforcement as the "solution" to the problem of school segregation. They overlook the fact that whatever the decision

may be, it will directly affect only two communities in the South proper. Much time-consuming and expensive litigation will be required to give the initial decision widespread application. Moreover, residential segregation in Southern cities will preserve largely separate schools, even under a legally "integrated" system. Even more significant, the day-to-day administration of local school systems will still be in the hands of boards on which Negro opinion is commonly unrepresented.

These community factors form the

backdrop against which the impending decision must be understood, but they in no way detract from its importance. In the short run, it will do much to shape the attitudes of people, at home and abroad, toward American democracy; in the long run, it will determine racial practices in public schooling. By defining the law of the land, the action of the court will establish a goal toward which all conscientious citizens may be expected to work. Meanwhile, the wise course is to inform ourselves for the work that lies ahead.

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## Where Does Your State Stand?

A recent *Check List of State Anti-Discrimination and Anti-Bias Laws* prepared by The Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress reveals many interesting and alarming facts about the laws governing discrimination in public employment, private employment, education, housing, group defamation, and various miscellaneous situations.

For instance less than half of the states of the country, 21 in fact, have laws preventing discrimination in connection with public accommodation—transportation, restaurants, hotels, amusement, et cetera. These states are as follows: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia.

SEA leaders in these states might like to make a study to determine how effectively the laws of their state are enforced, if at all. For example, the District of Columbia has had laws against "discrimination on account of race, color . . . in eating places, hotels, soda fountains, barbershops, or bathing houses" since 1871.

Churchmen in states not having laws against discrimination in this and other areas have even a more immediate job ahead of them. The *Check List of State Anti-Discrimination and Anti-Bias Laws* is available for 50 cents from the American Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y.

# What Is the Future for Uncle Sam's Wards?

By GALEN R. WEAVER, *Director of Religion and Race, Congregational Christian Churches*

WHEN Columbus touched these shores upwards of 750,000 Indians may have been living in what is now the United States. Today, 403,071 are listed on the tribal rolls, and there is an undetermined number of others of some degree of Indian ancestry who are socially assimilated and live off the reservations. A striking fact shown by the census is the rapid increase in Indian population in the United States: in 1900, 106,214 and in 1950, 343,410.

## Persistent Dilemma

The continuing dilemma faced by the American Government and by Indians also is whether they should be expected to become just like other citizens or whether they should be perpetually considered as different and apart. Up to 1871 treaties were contracted by the central Government with Indian tribes in much the same way as with foreign nations. The Five Civilized Tribes in the region now roughly comprising North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Mississippi had by 1825 adopted many of the ways of the white settlers. They were becoming good farmers. The Cherokee Nation, for example, had organs of civil govern-

ment modeled on our Federal institutions. A written language had been invented, a printing press set up, schools and homes very like those of their white neighbors were well established. But in 1830 the Indian Removal Act resulted in the forcible expropriation of their lands and the physical removal of some twenty or thirty tribes across the Mississippi River to an ill-defined Indian Territory. They were not to be left undisturbed even there, for expanding white pressures upset their new communities and dispossessed numerous other tribes on the plains, in the Southwest, in California, and in the Northwest.

The dilemma still persists. On the one hand, shall these native Americans, the only groups with their ancestral roots deep in this soil, be encouraged to maintain themselves in their distinctive cultures, where any considerable part still survives, or shall they be urged to mix and mingle with other Americans as Thomas Jefferson envisaged them doing: "Let our settlements and theirs meet and blend together, to intermix, and become one people"?

Anthropologists, being persons who make a study of indigenous cultures their specialty, argue for a



governmental policy that will foster the greatest possible distinctiveness through the survival of traditional patterns and values. Missionaries, especially those of Protestant denominations, Government administrators, and most ordinary citizens are likely to be "assimilationist" in their point of view. A third possibility is a two-way integration process, by which Indians and non-Indians are mutually appreciative of each other's contribution and modify each other's ways of living so that a new way of life is possible for all.

Admittedly there are great practical difficulties in the way of preserving the cultural integrity of Indian tribes or even of fostering a mutual process of integration such as the relatively small number of Indian people as compared with non-Indians (approximately 1:400). Again there is vast cultural diversity even among the 400,000 Indians. Moreover, many of these native culture complexes are in an advanced state of disintegration and have largely lost their meaning for the people themselves.

Few if any reservations can be maintained much longer as separate cultural-economic units capable of providing health, education, and a favorable standard of livelihood for the inhabitants. For these have become important values for most Indians and few reservations have the resources to make such goals realizable for even half their present

population. The economy of a highly developed country such as ours is necessarily dependent on a national if not indeed an international market and upon an extremely complex social organization. But such economic and political interdependency outmodes cultural islands and makes for a cosmopolitan style of life.

The trend for several decades has been obviously in the direction of breaking down social and economic isolation. Radios, automobiles and roads, schools, service in the armed forces, seasonal farm and railway labor, and similar experiences of mid-twentieth century life in the United States draw people into the main stream of associated living.

If the pace of change is too fast, however, the possibility of any conservation of cultural values in the heritages of the Indian people is altogether lost and we will unquestionably have very serious individual personality problems and much social disorganization. Intelligent recognition should be given to indigenous values so that Indian youth are helped to self-respect. All this means very careful planning and programming that involve consent and co-operation from the Indians themselves.

The matter of consent on the part of Indians themselves is a crucial aspect of Governmental policy since Indians are people and not inanimate objects. "Consent" by Indian Americans includes such elements

as participation in planning for orderly changes in their relationships to Federal, state, and local governments; sufficient time for them to comprehend the intent and probable effects of proposed bills in Congress and of proposed administrative changes of importance; opportunity to testify before Congressional committees including funds for travel where these are not available from tribal monies; and finally a referendum vote by tribal members whose lives will be directly affected. A truly democratic process of this sort is the only relationship that will result in long-term well-being for the nation or Indian Americans.

Non-Indians can help appreciably by learning the positive elements in Indian background and by showing a wholesome respect for Indians as persons. They should also support wise and constructive legislative and administrative measures.\*

### **What Is the Church's Role?**

While Government, federal and state, will necessarily play a large

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\* The following sources of information on proposed legislative and administrative measures are available: The Indian Rights Association, 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.; Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., 48 East 86th Street, New York 28, N. Y.; National Congress of American Indians, 816 DuPont Circle, Washington 6, D. C.; Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

role in achieving or blocking this worthy goal, churches too can play a direct part in terms of their own special contributions. Missionaries are still needed among Indian people but not on a competitive denominational basis. All such missionaries should have basic training in cultural anthropology and in the principles of sound human relations. Those who have been in the field for some years should be exposed to courses in the social sciences. A genuine and intellectually well-grounded respect for the Indian cultural heritage as well as the capacity to deal with Indian persons on a basis of democratic equality are indispensable.

A corps of highly qualified Indian leaders to meet the new day of adjustment is perhaps the greatest need of all. This means pastors and religious educators but it also involves professional level leadership in all the other vocations.

Probably the most significant program the denominations could now support in the field of Indian affairs is one aimed at discovering college-ability high school youth and giving them encouragement and guidance, along with appropriate financial assistance, so that they will complete their undergraduate work in a first rate college. Beyond college there are foundations that will assist them to pursue their postgraduate specialization as doctors, dentists,

*(Continued on page 18)*

# Sanctuary

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## FOR . . . HEALING OF THE NATIONS

*A Message for Race Relations*

*Sunday, February 14, 1954*

AS AMERICAN citizens, we may take satisfaction in the progress being made toward improved relationships among racial groups within our nation. The sweeping indictments of American life which were justifiable twenty or even ten years ago must be qualified and limited when they are made today. It is becoming easier for a man to get and hold a job regardless of his ancestry. Travel in public conveyances is more congenial for Negroes than it was. In some cities it is less difficult for a member of a minority group to rent or buy or build a home in an attractive neighborhood. . . . A long series of court decisions is gradually opening up the universities of the nation to all persons solely on the basis of individual merit, and it is not unreasonable to hope that segregation in education at all levels will end. Sporadic expressions of violence still mar the record; but lynchings are so rare that we may soon be able to say that they no longer take place in the United States.

**All these things** are good signs of sanity and decency. They are important demonstrations of the fact that Americans are uneasy in conscience and therefore are moving to correct segregation and other forms of discrimination. The unevenness of progress and our embarrassment when political expediency or deep-seated traditions provide formidable obstacles do not destroy the hope of greater advance throughout the whole nation. All things considered, the citizens of the United States may take a measure of genuine satisfaction over improved relations among racial groups within our borders.

But there is a disquieting lesson to be drawn merely from the fact that we have to stop and take note of such progress. This nation was founded on the religious principles of freedom, equality, and fraternity. As we approach the end of two centuries of national life, we still have to ask ourselves whether we are building on those foundations. If there were no sincere efforts to realize the basic goals of a free and democratic people,

we would stand convicted of hypocrisy for having lived so long with the compromises of segregation and of social and political discrimination. Surely there must come a time when it will no longer be necessary to observe Race Relations Sunday in our churches or to fight for the rights of racial minority groups or to decry the presence of prejudice. Surely we must with confidence look forward to a day of mental and spiritual health, unmarred by racial prejudice, which is a sign and symptom of illness both of mind and of spirit.

Moreover, while it is true that great progress has been made within the churches in bringing about a greater awareness of the demands of brotherhood and in the practice of racially inclusive membership by an increasing number, it must be recorded, to our shame, on this Race Relations Sunday that it is within the churches themselves and in Church-related institutions that significant advances need to be made. It is still true that only in exceptional instances do white and nonwhite Christians worship regularly together. In some Church-supported colleges, racial prejudice and discrimination in social life contradict their Christian profession. . . . Is it not strange that religion, which is a force for the healing of the nations, is itself hampered in its influence by the sickness of racial prejudice?

Indeed, it can be said that, judged from the perspective of Christian insight, even the progress made in secular life is belated and far from adequate. The demands of Christian conscience are so clear and unmistakable, the road so straight and unavoidable, and the oft-repeated convictions so unequivocal and compelling, that the genuine satisfaction of partial progress in secular affairs is canceled out by the continuing condemnation of ourselves for failing to live as children of God, brothers one of another.

**Finally, when the whole matter** is viewed in world-wide perspective, the healing of the nations calls for a medicine which—up to this moment—we, as Christians, have been unwilling to take. The nonwhite peoples of the world are unconvinced by a Christianity which accepts a color line. If we really believe that true religion is for the healing of the nations, and if we intend to continue offering to others the leaves and fruits of the Tree which grows beside the River of Life, there is but one appropriate way: we must practice what we preach, match creed with deed, and express in our lives the truths we claim to believe.

*—Prepared by Buell G. Gallagher, President of the College of the City of New York. From the packet of materials for Race Relations Sunday published by the National Council of Churches.*



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nurses, researchers, public administrators, engineers, lawyers, and the like. If the limited funds of ten or more denominations can be pooled and a joint plan put into operation, immensely important consequences will undoubtedly flow from the effort in the next decade or two. Such a scheme is now under discussion in the Home Missions Division of the National Council of Churches.

Meanwhile, Protestant Churches are united in a highly valuable religious and social ministry to Indian boys and girls in ten United States Indian boarding schools. Currently the program being carried out at Intermountain Indian School in Brigham City, Utah, is particularly arresting, for here approximately 2,200 Navaho boys and girls are in school, many of them for the first time. They are far away from their homes and in a very strange environment. They are preparing to take their places in nonreservation communities and are, therefore, trying hard to master the elements of written and spoken English along with basic health and citizenship knowledge and enough of a chosen trade to fit them to take and hold a job that will sustain them in health and reasonable contentment.

Wherever Indian youth are to be found, church leaders should give special attention to ways of exposing

them to the wider fellowship of the Christian Church. Too long they have lived in relative isolation. Work camps, local, state, regional, and national youth conferences and projects, and the regular program of the local church, are important experiences for Indian young people.

With the accent in the Bureau of Indian Affairs on off-reservation full-time employment and residence, certain cities of the Midwest, Southwest and California are already receiving scores or hundreds of Indian families. The present and even potential resources on most of the reservations are very limited and the population is growing so rapidly that many Indians will be able to find economic support only if they leave their traditional home reservations and integrate themselves into the industrial, commercial, and professional life of our cities.

Church members should be the first to alert themselves to these opportunities to be hospitable and understanding. Their helpfulness will be especially needed during the period of adjustment on the part of the newcomers, who are strange to the ways of urban living. The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains a placement officer in major cities. He will cordially co-operate with responsible church organizations in such programs of social integration.

# POINTS *for* PREACHERS . . .

USING a theme suggested by Hartford Luccock in his book *In the Minister's Workshop*, see what you can do with Judg. 12: 1-6 (the story of Jephthah's victory over the Ephraimites, and how 42,000 of them lost their lives because they couldn't correctly pronounce the Hebrew word for "stream"). You might call your sermon "Shibboleths, Pro and Con," with the following skeleton as a starter.

## Introduction:

Historical and Biblical exposition of the incident at the ford of the Jordan. ("We will refrain from applying modern standards of warfare and treatment of a conquered foe to people who lived 3,000 years ago, and hope that the writer's estimate of 42,000 slain was somewhat exaggerated.")

## Theme:

The interesting part of the story is the fact that the Ephraimites unintentionally revealed which side they were on by their accent, which they couldn't disguise. (See also Matt. 26: 73.)

An innocent modern shibboleth (define it) might be a German's pro-

nunciation of the English "w." Remember Abe Martin's "When a man says, 'It ain't the money but the principle of the thing,' it's usually the money."

## Development:

A. Some modern shibboleths are not so innocent.

1. Take the little word "but," for instance: "I don't mean to gossip, but . . ." ; "I'm not prejudiced, but . . ." ; "Why, some of my best friends are Jews." (Remember the classic reply made to the "some of my best friends are Jews" remark in *Gentleman's Agreement*: "Yes, some of your best friends are Methodists too, but you don't take such pains to point it out when you talk about Methodists.")

2. Listen carefully when you hear people talk about other races and you will hear the son of Ephraim proclaiming with all his might that he is a son of Gilead, but "his accent betrays him."

B. But the shibboleth also has a "reverse English."

1. There are some people who have a zeal for righteousness, but

without knowledge, who would drag everyone to the ford of the Jordan, clap a pistol to his head, and make him utter their own favorite shibboleth. If he can't, off goes his head (or he may be branded as a "spy").

2. Artificial shibboleths in religion: smoking, dancing, "verbal inspiration," etc.

3. Artificial shibboleths in "loyalty determination": guilt by association, economic liberalism, "radical ideas," controversial figures, etc.

### **Denouement:**

There is no external sign by which we can separate the children of darkness from the children of light, the sheep from the goats. A shibboleth may reveal a person's attitude toward a particular issue, or his nationality, or his race; but it can never be used as a basis for totally accepting or rejecting him as a person. (Remember that Hitler was a teetotaler. Only in the movies are the good guys distinguishable from the bad guys by their looks or

their speech or their manners. In real life the criminal is often as gracious and good-mannered as the Sunday school teacher—sometimes more so).

"Judge not, that ye be not judged" is still good advice. The judgments rendered in our courts of law are arrived at only after an impartial trial based on evidence, and are relative, not absolute. We may imprison those who are found guilty of endangering the community by breaking its laws. But we may not consign their souls to hell, label them "bad" in any final sense. Only God has the right or the ability to look into a man's soul and judge him ultimately.

As Christians and human beings, we are commanded to leave the final judgment to God and to love our neighbor as we love ourselves, however he may differ from us as to speech, color, or doctrine, whatever particular "shibboleth" he may commit from time to time. And since we have all repeatedly failed to do this, repentance would seem to be the order of the day for us all.

—*H. B. Sissel*

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### **"The Ilo—What It Is"**

Workers, employers, and Governments share in shaping the policies of the International Labor Organization, a Specialized Agency associated with the United Nations. At its headquarters in Geneva, ILO conducts year-round research and works for international solutions of pressing labor and manpower problems.

In 1953, ILO had 300 technical assistance projects in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, helping less-developed countries to health, increased productivity, and prosperity.

# Christian ACTION

## FACING THE PROBLEM

During the past intercensal decade (1940-1950) the Negro population of Philadelphia increased 50 per cent. The white population, during the same period, increased by less than 1 per cent. In 1900, one out of twenty in the city was a Negro; today, nearly one out of five. A situation like that would give rise to interracial problems in any community in the United States. The congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of Olney are a missionary-minded people, vitally interested in the nonwhite population of the world; but in the educational and service program of their church, they had not done much about this problem in their own back yard.

It was the hope of the pastor and the president of the recently organized Chapter of Presbyterian Men that social problems like the above could be faced more realistically through the new organization. With this in mind William P. Heuchert, president of the men's group, called on Walter C. Wynn, Social Action Director of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, an organization working for "equal treatment and opportunity for all people."

As a result, Mr. Wynn brought a group of eight men from his church, the Grace Baptist Church (colored) of Germantown, to meet with the men of the Olney church. A dinner meeting was arranged and the Grace group met with the pastor, officers, and division chairmen of the Olney Chapter about the tables. Each member of the Grace group was paired off with one of the division chairmen for fellowship and briefing. This was followed later in the evening by a meeting of the entire chapter. After devotions, the men broke up into their divisions and went to separate rooms where the division chairman and his Negro friend started an open discussion. "Gripes" on both sides were freely aired and problems squarely faced. After this discussion period in the small groups (15-25 men), they reassembled for an address of summation by Mr. Wynn.

Both groups had been a bit fearful that more heat than light might be generated by such a meeting, but now neither group would hesitate to sponsor a similar meeting. Prejudices were undermined by the facts presented and while no problems



were solved, there was the general feeling that these problems could be and must be solved by those who claim to be "one in Christ." The Christian fellowship that was had that night brought such a solution decidedly into the realm of the possible in the minds of the men. Encouraged by the above experiment in social education the leaders

of the Olney Chapter of Presbyterian Men are now looking forward with anticipation to a similar practical approach to the problem of alcoholism, feeling that an honest facing of a problem is the first step in its solution.

—*Frederick S. Vogenitz, Pastor,  
First Presbyterian Church of  
Olney, Philadelphia, Pa.*

## AN INTERVIEW BY CORRESPONDENCE

A few months ago Sarah Longman, Citizenship chairman of Westminster Fellowship National Council, wrote to Dr. Horace M. Bond, President of Lincoln University, asking him the questions below. Dr. Bond's reply was so significant that Sarah would like to share it with *Social Progress* readers.

**1. "Could you tell us some of the values of a fellowship such as Lincoln University has?"**

Intercultural, intergroup relationships are always stimulating and broadening, for individuals, for groups, for whole peoples. It may not be too broad a claim to point out that there is all the difference in the world between the transitory contacts established, let us say, in the enthusiasm and high spirits of a two- or three-day conference and the actual day-by-day, weekly, monthly, yearly experience of intimate association with persons from a differing social, economic, racial, national culture.

It is the difference between attending, say, a two-day session on "international relations" and residence for a year, or longer, in a foreign nation. While cultures and peoples in America may not be so disparate as this comparison suggests, there are tremendous gaps of understanding between religious and racial groups, almost comparable.

The values, therefore, seem to me to be psychological, within the framework of an enlarged Christian personality. A man discovers himself, not by introspection, but through the experience of living out of himself. We think that the Christian (of

any racial or nationality group) may best discover his Christian personality through the experience of living "out of himself" —the self that is defined by the conventional family, social, church, racial ethos in which he ordinarily moves, and from which it is almost impossible for him to obtain release without so comprehensive an external experience.

**2. "Do you feel that the minority of white students at your school has its basis in the segregation pattern of our country, or do you feel that there are other reasons?"**

The reasons are numerous and complex. Among these reasons, I think the following may be identified:

a. Attendance at college is unfortunately less a seeking for intellectual and spiritual growth than it is a gesture of identification with a social or economic class. In short, the theory here is that few students actually go to college in the classic sense of wishing to obtain a "liberal arts education." They go to college (or to "a" college) as they go, in their own grouped associations, to church, to a neighborhood theater, to a dance, to an athletic event, to picnics, and the like. They go to college (or to "a" college) for similar

sharings of old social contacts, and with the hope of establishing new ones—new, but within the old pattern, and on a “higher” (social) level. This is true both for Negro and for white students. This is one of the reasons Negro students do come to Lincoln University, and why more white students do not come here. The ultimate basis is the pattern of segregation in the United States.

b. An associated reason is the tendency to define everything associated with the Negro minority as having a tinge of “inferiority.” Even among Negroes, the impress of the dominant white majority tends to create the impression that anything racially associated with Negroes is an inferior person, product, or institution.

c. There are special reasons incident to our particular community:

(1) An ancient pattern of local segregation, with the Negro community held in low repute, and almost completely isolated from any intellectual, social, or mutually self-respecting associations with the white population on any but the lowest levels of social intercourse.

(2) A stratification of the white community in which “college-going” is a habit only of the upper middle class; with the rate of high school graduates attending college among the lowest in the United States; and with those from the upper middle class who go to college tending to go to colleges with clienteles in their particular social and economic class.

(3) A remarkably homogeneous, stable, unchanging social structure in our rural, semirural, small-town, “Old American” geographical setting. The more liberal attitudes of the more cosmopolitan heterogeneous, mixed populations of large urban centers are not represented in our community.

**3. “What would you have to say to a college president who was afraid that his college would be ‘overrun’ by Negroes if it were opened to them?”**

I am afraid that I should be tempted to

be a trifle cynical in my answer to such a college president. I should be tempted to tell him: “Have no fear; the attitudes you have, even if you suppress them by making a formal gesture of opening your institution to Negroes, are so typically those of your social and economic class as to be the best warrant that what you fear will not happen. Negro students will not ‘overrun’ your institution because your institution is the kind of college described in 2 a above.”

In the first place, it will probably be too expensive for most Negroes. In the second place, it will be a college populated by people who are in college for the sake of establishing, and raising, their level of social class; and such persons will not create an institution that will attract many Negroes.

I would further say: “If your college were the liberal arts college you like to say it is, and if the fees were very low, then you might be ‘overrun,’ not only by Negroes, but by a number of other very queer people. But your college, in fact, is a marriage mart, or a finishing school for preparation for a ‘good’ marriage; and it is a preparatory school for establishing prospective contacts for entry into business careers, in the country club set. You may therefore open your doors ever so widely to Negroes, and profess the utmost liberality of view; indeed, this might even help you to persist in your present organization, for liberality of this sort is fast becoming the hallmark of the ‘better’ college.”

I trust I have not here betrayed a cynical and defeatist attitude. On the contrary, I have the highest hope for the development of an institution in these trying times that shall oppose the social and racial divisiveness now enforced by stubborn social attitudes, a college truly Christian, truly devoted to the high conception of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of mankind, the true raceless society.

To the making of such a community, we here at Lincoln University invite all per-

sons of like mind. It is not an easy prospect; no monolithic social structure was ever fractured without difficulties of the

greatest. It is a challenging endeavor, to which we have set our minds, and our hearts—our Christian conviction.

## **"THEY SAY . . . ,” BUT WHAT ARE THE FACTS?**

Here is more ammunition for social education and action leaders in meeting the continued attacks on the UN. These pages are taken from the excellent analysis of the UN's vital role in world affairs prepared by *The Christian Century*. It is a sensitive and persuasive interpretation of the UN that ought to be widely read.

**“The UN is a nest of Communist spies.” True or false?**

We shall let Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., head of the U.S. delegation and former Republican Senator from Massachusetts, answer: “It is not a nest of Communist spies for the simple reason that there is nothing to spy on at the United Nations. No member nation sends any secret or confidential material to the UN. . . . The Soviet Union has not even bothered to fill its quota of employees at the UN and no American citizen employed by the UN has ever been prosecuted for espionage.”

**“The UN dragged the United States into the Korean war.”**

It would be closer to the truth to say that the United States dragged the UN into that war. (Although that wouldn't be true, either.) But it was the United States who asked the UN to act after the North Korean Communists had crossed the thirty-eighth parallel, invading the Republic of Korea. The U.S.A. had ordered its armed forces into action in South Korea before the UN adopted the resolution, introduced by the U.S., calling for collective action by UN members against the aggressor.

**“The UN can send American boys to fight and die anywhere in the world.”**

On the contrary, the UN cannot send the troops of any nation to fight anywhere. All it can do is ask its member nations, in case of aggression, to send their forces to repel the aggression. The decision as to whether they do so or not is entirely up

to each nation. In Korea, for example, the troops of the sixteen nations that fought there under the UN command were all volunteered by their nations.

**“The UN can set aside or supersede our American laws with UN treaties, and it can interfere in the internal affairs of the United States.”**

Any treaty proposed by the UN must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and signed by the President before it becomes effective in the United States. The U.S. Supreme Court has declared (in *Askura vs. City of Seattle*) that “the [treaty] power does not extend as far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids.” The charter of the UN clearly states: “Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.”

**“The UN is controlled by the Russians.”**

Look at the UN roll calls and you will get the answer to this one. Russia has never won a major roll call. On the overwhelming majority of issues before the UN, the best Russia has been able to do is to muster five votes out of the sixty in the General Assembly and in each of the United Nation's principal committees.

**“The UN is promoting formation of a world government in which the United States will lose its independence.”**

This ignores the fact that the UN is



made up of sixty separate, independent nations, each intent on preserving its own independence. If you doubt it, follow UN debates closely for a while and see how quick the member nations, small as well as large, are to protest when any proposal is made which they fear might in the smallest degree strip them of their sovereignty. As a matter of fact, the service to world peace of the UN probably would be improved if its member nations were not so jealous of their freedom of independent action.

**"God is not mentioned in the UN charter and UN meetings are not opened with prayer. The UN is a godless, atheistic organization."**

So? Here's what the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Henry Knox Sherrill, says about that: "Men and women of many faiths are involved in the work of the UN. The basis of Christianity is love, not compulsion. We cannot expect them to observe religious practices other than their own. The silent prayer which opens each meeting of the General Assembly is as far as it is possible to go at this time." The Constitution of the United States does not name God. Is the U.S. atheistic?

**"UN employees are immune to our American laws. Moreover, they pay no income taxes."**

No UN employee working in the United States has the slightest immunity; if he breaks our laws he may be arrested and punished just like the rest of us. What the objectors must be thinking of is the diplomatic immunity of members of delegations. This is like the immunity of all embassy staffs—our own embassies abroad as well as the embassies other nations send there. As for taxes, the UN deducts from the salary of every employee a sum approximately equal to what his U.S. income tax would be on that salary. This is turned in to the general budget of the UN and used to reduce the contribution of the nation from which he comes by that amount. These as-

sessments on UN employees—the equivalent of taxes—now total over \$7 million a year.

**"The costs of the UN are too high and the United States pays all the bills."**

Is that so? Listen to Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., chairman of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company: "The United States does not pay all the bills. As a matter of fact, we pay less than one third of them. Our share of the 1953 total assessment of \$79,254,170 is \$25,433,373. This is 32.54 per cent of the total amount. (In 1954 this is to be reduced to 30 per cent.) The difference of \$53,820,797 is paid by other member countries. . . . Our assessment for the United Nations and its specialized agencies averages 16 cents for each person in the United States. . . . The United Nations spends in the United States each year for salaries, services, and other needs about \$30 million, which is more than our total contribution. It is interesting to note that the entire budget of the United Nations would not buy one battleship and that our share would hardly pay for one destroyer."

Finally, here's the objection which some people apparently think clinches the argument for the uselessness of the United Nations:

**"The UN does nothing but talk. It's a debating society, not an effective agency for building and preserving peace. The delegates talk and talk and talk—and get nowhere."**

There is a lot of talk at the UN. That's true. But this study has shown that many things have been accomplished—a surprising number of things when account is taken of the brevity of the record and the difficulties of the world situation the UN has been forced to face. Yet suppose there were nothing much but talk at the UN, and that a good deal was foolish, wild talk indulged in mainly for propaganda purposes. Isn't it better to have the nations go on talking than to have them start shooting? Isn't a debating society to be pre-



ferred to World War III—the First Atomic War? If the mothers and fathers of America will think this over, we are confident that they will say, "Thank God the UN keeps the nations talking!"

No one claims that the United Nations is beyond criticism. Those who know it best are frequently its most searching critics. In this study we have pointed out a considerable number of its failures and weaknesses. But it is one thing to criticize the UN for actual faults within its structure or its actions, and quite another to scatter about wild accusations that have no basis and to criticize it out of ignorance.

There is altogether too much of this spreading of baseless defamation of the

UN. The charges we have quoted above in the boldface sentences are illustrations. Those who spread them are irresponsible, for two reasons: (1) They evidently have not bothered to check on the truth, and (2) they do not pause to reflect on the consequences if the people's faith is so undermined that this international organization to maintain peace collapses. Playing fast and loose with the truth here is playing with the lives of our children and our children's children.

—From *The Christian Century*, December 16, 1953. Used by permission. Reprints of the complete article may be secured from *The Christian Century Foundation*, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.

## OUR CONSTITUTION AND THE DANGERS OF THE BRICKER PROPOSALS

Every church member who has an ounce of respect for the American Constitution needs to understand the drastic changes involved in the so-called Bricker Amendment. For months lawyers and bar associations have been at loggerheads over the proposed restrictions in the treaty-making powers of the executive and legislative branches of government. The President and Senator Wiley (R., Wisc.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have stoutly opposed the measure and the substitute advanced by Senator Knowland because they recognize how these measures would imperil national security and frustrate the formulation of American foreign policy. Also opposing the amendment is a national committee of distinguished business executives, lawyers, educators, headed by Professor Edward S. Corwin of Princeton and General Lucius D. Clay, and including Owen J. Roberts, Elihu Root, Jr., and Palmer Hoyt.

All too many laymen and ministers, too, have been confused by the legal debate. Many people think that Bricker is defending the Constitution, when actually he is making most radical proposals to undermine it and shift its powers. As we go to press, the measure is one of the hottest issues on Capitol Hill.

A most helpful discussion of the subject is presented in the *Report of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York*. Each section is carefully analyzed and well documented. There is a very illuminating section on our Constitution and why it has worked so well. Order your free copy today from the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, 42 West Fourth Street, New York.

There still may be time to mobilize Christian opinion in the churches to forestall action on the resolution which international jurists believe would plunge us back to a national state of chaos and impotence which characterized our land under the Articles of Confederation. We, the people, established the Constitution. We, the people, must defend it under God.

## ★ *Citizenship* ★

WASHINGTON is in a state of relative calm as we go to press. The President has just delivered his State of the Union message. Congress is on the eve of getting down to "business."

From all indications this is really the lull before the storm, for "bad weather" signals are flying on nearly every piece of major legislation scheduled for action in this session.

The President's message was generally well received here. In the words of *The Washington Post*: "Mr. Eisenhower has enunciated a challenging program in response to his mandate. The remaining challenge is for him to use the great powers and persuasion at his command to translate the program into practical results."

This will not be easy. Though the President's persuasive powers stood him in good stead in his legislative "briefing" conference it remains to be seen whether this will carry over into the actual battles on the "Hill." However, the President is admittedly stronger than either party in Congress.

Much of the program remains to be "spelled out" in future messages, and certainly no one here expects that more than a third of it will be acted upon in this session of Congress. Special messages will be forthcoming on labor, farm policy, housing, social security, taxes, foreign

trade, and the budget, among others.

An election year, a crushing agenda, a practically equal numerical division of parties, critical problems demanding action—all of these characterize this second session of the 83d Congress. Results will probably be determined by a coalition of Midwestern Republicans and Southern Democrats, subject to whatever influence the President will be able to exert.

**Reciprocal Trade**—Under a directive from the President this has been under intensive study by a sixteen-member commission of which Clarence B. Randall of the Inland Steel Co. is chairman. Administration policy will be based on the findings of this commission. At press time, the issuance of its report was imminent. Tentative drafts of the recommendations are said to include (1) repeal of the "Buy American Act," (2) further lowering of tariffs under careful safeguards, (3) retention of "peril point" and escape clauses of the present law, (4) Government assistance to those injured by increased imports due to tariff changes, (5) continuation of Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act with some amendments to make it more effective in promoting international trade. The "protectionists" in Congress can be expected to disagree violently with these proposals,

though many American businessmen are beginning to support more liberal trade policies. This latter condition will undoubtedly have an influence on the outcome of this legislation.

### **Technical Assistance Program**

—Late in December the International Development Advisory Board issued a constructive report to Director of FOA, Harold Stassen, strongly endorsing the principle of technical co-operation. In summary, the Board recommended: (1) that the Government should support both the United States and the United Nations programs as a long-range part of U.S. foreign policy; (2) that expenditures for such programs should be considered as ordinary and necessary business expenses and not as give-aways; (3) that private voluntary organizations, private enterprise and educational institutions should be mobilized in support; (4) that periodic reports should be made public on the cost, operation, and achievements of the programs.

The report pointed out that technical assistance or co-operation was a relatively low-cost program representing less than 2 per cent of our foreign aid budget in fiscal 1954. It further emphasized the vital importance of local responsibility in the various countries and cautioned against extravagance and incompetent administration. It should, primarily, said the board, be a "sharing of skills rather than of money." As

such, it can become "politically, economically, and morally the right thing to do."

**UN Charter Change**—A Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee is scheduled to begin hearings late in January on recommendations to be made for changes in the United Nations charter. (See SOCIAL PROGRESS, October, 1954.) Secretary of State Dulles will be the first witness. Senator Wiley (R., Wis.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, predicts that some modification of the veto power will be suggested as well as a proposal to extend the jurisdiction of the General Assembly and restrict the power of the Security Council. Chairman Wiley says that mail reaching the committee indicates wide interest in the hearings and that some of the public sessions will be held in large cities around the country.

"We want to get the best brains in every section of the country working on the subject of how the UN can be made more effective," said Senator Wiley. "I know there are many . . . who feel that the UN should go out of business, but I am not one of them. The UN has not produced a millennium," the Senator continued, "but it is not a superstate. It is an attempt by tired humanity to find a way out of the troubles that confront the world."

**FEPC**—As we go to press, hearings on the bill of Senator Ives (R.,

N.Y.) providing for fair employment practices legislation (S.692) have been postponed from a January date to February 23. Announcement of the change was made by the committee chairman Senator Alexander Smith (R., N.J.). Senator Ives voiced a strong protest to the postponement, saying he felt it might destroy the effectiveness of the hearings. Senator Douglas (D., Ill.) joined Senator Ives in opposing the change, saying it might preclude any action on the measure this year. Senator Smith disagreed with this, saying that if he had felt the delay would in any way affect the ultimate fate of the bill he would not have ordered the change.

### **Congressional Investigations**

—There is increasing talk on the “Hill” among both Republicans and Democrats of some means to curb the abuse of the investigative procedures. About twelve different plans have been suggested, but there is as yet no general agreement on any one of them. There is much support for reducing appropriations for the “investigating” committees and general approval of a stricter adherence to jurisdictional functions by the respective committees. Senator Knowland (R. Calif.), Senate majority leader, says he is personally interested in a way to prevent subpoenas being issued by a committee chairman without committee action, and to provide that “both parties should

be represented” in each investigation. The Senator promises that the subject of improving Congressional legislative procedures “will be considered,” but he admits no special “priority” for the consideration.

**Foreign Aid**—Late in December, FOA Director Harold Stassen announced that the Administration’s 1954 foreign aid requests would probably be slashed one to two billion dollars below the \$4,500,000,000 approved by Congress for the present year. He said, however, that foreign aid spending would run at an annual rate of about \$5,000,000,000 for the next eighteen months. The Administration will draw on funds previously voted by Congress to make up the difference.

Eighty per cent of FOA funds for the year beginning July 1 will go for direct military aid to our allies, said Mr. Stassen, 15 per cent for economic aid and 5 per cent for technical assistance.

He said that no European countries except Greece and Turkey are slated for economic aid in the next year, also that the 1954 foreign aid budget calls for increased use of US farm surpluses for hard-pressed nations. Mr. Stassen emphasized that the free world’s economic strength is at an all-time high with Europe’s industrial production averaging four per cent higher than in any previous year.

—*Helen Lineweaver,*  
*Washington Office*



# About Books

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**Blanket Boy**, by Peter Lanham and A. S. Mopeli-Paulus. The Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 309 pp. \$3.50.

Peter Lanham, a European resident of South Africa, and A. S. Mopeli-Paulus, a native chieftain, collaborate to tell the experiences of the tribesman Monari who leaves his home country to work for the white man in Johannesburg. The story is factual. Monari becomes a skilled workman, educates himself, gains respect because of his courage and honesty but is finally punished because years previous to his success he had taken part in a gruesome tribal ceremony, a practice accepted by his own people. The simple, rather monotonous style is subordinated to the interest in the progress of the tribesman, and long after the book is finished the questions raised by the reading of it persist. Why has a civilized, educated people so exploited another people? At what price will the results of such intolerable discrimination be corrected? What happens to persons in the dominant group who uphold or permit such practices? What is the future of the native African among other nations? Monari becomes a

Moslem because they accept him as an equal and a friend—because they live their belief in brotherhood, at least among their fellow Moslems. How long will Christians profess a belief and not practice it? Will there always be a “white world” and a “black world”? The questions raised by the thoughtful readers of *Blanket Boy* must be answered by Christians. —*Florence Kindle*

**The Church and Social Responsibility**, by J. Richard Spann. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. 272 pp. \$2.75.

This is perhaps the most important book on practical Christian social action published in 1953. In the brief preface, Mr. Spann states, as the thesis of the book, that “Christian salvation also includes a social order; that the Christian Church is responsible for social conditions and must provide redemptive methods for society.”

The scope of the book is indicated by the headings of the four parts: “The Social Ministry of the Church,” “Basic Human Rights and the Community,” “The Church and the Economic Order,” “The Church and the Political Order.” In these four sections fifteen writers discuss

the Christian basis of social action, family life, race relations, daily work, world economic issues, citizenship, Church and State relations, the prevention and treatment of crime, international relations, and the church as an agency of social action. The list of writers includes such dependable leaders as Joseph Haroutunian, Cameron Hall, Roland Bainton, Walter Van Kirk, and Paul Schilling. The contributions of these men are among the most important in the book.

Fifteen chapters by fifteen different writers are bound to be of uneven quality. This reviewer found especially helpful the chapter dealing with the Christian bases of human rights and responsibilities. The chapters on the Church's responsibilities in reference to race relations, daily work, citizenship, and international affairs are particularly useful.

A real disappointment came, however, in the last chapter, which attempts to deal with social education and action methods in the local church. The author seems to be completely unaware of the programs of denominational social action departments which have accumulated a large amount of experience in the subject with which he deals. His list of recommended pamphlets and study courses for a suggested curriculum for social education and action includes a number of items that are ancient and out of date. He

fails to include a great many important pieces that are proving to be popular and useful. —C. E.

**Charles Waddell Chesnutt—  
Pioneer of the Color Line**, by Helen M. Chesnutt. University of North Carolina Press. 324 pp. \$5.00.

This is a significant and interesting biography of a Negro born in the North just before the Civil War. Brought up in the South following the war, he returned to the North and came to share with Paul Laurence Dunbar recognized achievement in the field of literature.

Gifted and self-educated in the fields of education, music, stenography (by means of which he made a good living), and law, this "pioneer" devoted himself chiefly to short story writing. These stories, because of their interest and literary quality, soon became popular and were in great demand by the top magazines. Some of these stories grew into novels and many later were published as collections in books. Best known were *The Wife of His Youth*, *The Conjure Woman*, and *The House Behind the Cedars*.

Much of the biography consists of correspondence with the leading editors and authors of his day, many of whom became his close personal friends.

Mr. Chesnutt lived a "rich, full life" that was honored near its close in 1932 by his receiving the Spingarn Medal, which was awarded him

for his "pioneer work as a literary artist depicting the life and struggles of Americans of Negro descent, and for his long and useful career as scholar, worker, and freeman of one of America's greatest cities."

—Harvey E. Holt

**Dog's Head**, by Jean Dutourd. Simon & Shuster, Inc. 149 pp. \$3.00.

"When she was told, as tactfully as could be, that she had just given birth to a child with a dog's head, Mme. Du Chaillu fainted." So begins the satirical tragicomic novel of the unfortunate Edmond Du Chaillu, who was born with the head of a spaniel.

Translated from the French by Robin Chancellor, *Dog's Head* will surely be one of the most controversial books of 1953 among those who read it. Perhaps the London critics who describe the book as belonging to the great tradition of satire, in the manner of Swift, were a bit overenthusiastic. But they were accurate in describing the novel as "savage, sad, and uproariously funny." It will repulse some readers just as surely as it will attract others.

*Dog's Head* is a fantasy which tells, with great sensitivity and restraint, of the career of Edmond Du Chaillu, who was born normal in all respects, except that he had the head of a spaniel. The story of his life is the story of his conflict, both with himself and with his fellow men, the outcome of which deter-

mines whether he will identify himself with men or with dogs. The comedy of the story is too fierce to be classic tragedy.

Whatever satirical connections are seen between the man with the dog's head and the individual or the group which is cast out by the crowd, this fantasy stands or falls on its merits as a story. It should not be read by people with Victorian tastes.

—H. B. S.

**Toward Spiritual Security**, by Wesner Fallaw. The Westminster Press. 192 pp. \$3.00.

Here is a choice and vital book on human relationships. The author has applied a sensitive spiritual stethoscope to a variety of human problems and illustrated the many creative and therapeutic values of fellowship and group association.

In nontechnical terms he describes the process by which the Church, the family, and the neighborhood may work together to make their members truly secure persons, emotionally and spiritually. His plans for fostering neighborhood groupness and improving the church's educational program have tremendous values for parents and teachers. His practical suggestions about conducting group conversations, socio-drama, and personal counseling are especially pertinent to social action programs in our churches for what they can contribute to the solution of social problems.

—M. E. K.

## Taking Sides

A LOCAL church does not exist solely for the convenience and benefit of its members. It has a ministry in the community and beyond. As Dr. Samuel Blizzard says ("The Eternal Church in the Changing Community," pages 5-9, this magazine), "The mission of the Church is to 'Feed my sheep' and 'Go ye into all the world.'"

It is easy for us who have been reared in Presbyterian ways to accept the idea that churches should serve their communities. We like our religion to be relevant.

Moreover, we believe that churches should act not only through individuals who have been influenced by the gospel but as corporate bodies. That the churches should act only through persons who have been changed is the religious version of the doctrine of *laissez faire*. This doctrine is as discredited here as in modern economic life.

In facing community issues, a church should not disdain taking sides. A church cannot be neutral in the midst of a controversy where the well-being of men and women, boys and girls, is affected. Always the church must be objective and fair, but as to a moral issue, never neutral. For a church to take no position because someone might be offended is untenable ethically.

Sometimes, to be sure, churches have been led to take the wrong side in a community battle. An account of the role of the churches in a local option election in Franklin, Tennessee, last fall, appearing in a recent issue of *Harper's Magazine* of this year, is instructive reading. We seriously question the propriety as well as the ethics of a group of clergymen in Cherryville, North Carolina, who several months ago, just before an NLRB election to determine union representation in a textile mill, sent a letter to all the workers in which they said, "We are thoroughly convinced that it would be greatly to your disadvantage to have the union represent you."

So, study and a measure of caution are indicated. In every community there are problems and issues in which the churches have a stake by virtue of their concern for persons.





## The Bricker Amendment

THE Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, held in Cleveland last October, adopted a resolution that bears directly on the controversial proposals of Senator Bricker for a Constitutional amendment limiting the treaty-making powers of the Government. Said the Cleveland Conference: "Convinced that adequate safeguards respecting the making of treaties and executive agreements are already provided, we express our opposition to any Constitutional amendment which would hamper our Government in carrying forward and making effective a responsible foreign policy."

On the strength of this declaration, many of our Presbyterian delegates to the Cleveland meeting petitioned the Administration and the Senate to resist the original Bricker proposals. In doing this they acted as private citizens, not as representatives of the Church. Because the General Assembly pronouncements of the last two or three years provided only a vague basis for a position in the controversy, the Department of Social Education and Action, as an agency of the Church, could not speak.

We do, however, have a genuine concern about our country's responsibility in world affairs. We believe that the Cleveland Conference position was well taken and well said. The extended discussion of the issue is very good for the nation, so long as the debate stays within bounds of reason and propriety, and so long as our duty in the family of nations is affirmed.

### G. A. Pronouncements

THERE promises to be unusual interest in the social pronouncements of the 1954 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The General Council's Letter to Presbyterians of last November has made the entire Church pronouncement-conscious.

An important responsibility of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action is that of formulating recommendations for pronouncements and transmitting them, via the Board of Christian Education, to the General Assembly. For this purpose the Committee met in New York early in February. Prior to this meeting there were a number of smaller conferences and consultations for the purpose of examining the Church's responsibility in limited areas of social concern.

In one of the conferences, dealing with world affairs, Professor Robert R.

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Wilson, of Duke University, an eminent political scientist, was used as a resource person. Dr. Wilson is a member of the Council on Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. Another conference, concerned with agricultural problems and rural life, involved the co-operation of the Department of Town and Country of the Board of National Missions and the assistance of top-flight "experts" such as Dr. Samuel Blizzard, of Union Theological Seminary, Dr. Emory Brown, of Pennsylvania State University, Dr. Shirley Greene, of the Council for Social Action, and Dr. Walter Wilcox, of the Library of Congress.

The Counseling Committee itself is widely representative of the Church. It includes several laymen who are really specialists in their fields—Dr. William Adams Brown, of Brookings Institution; Dr. Paul Lehmann, of Princeton Seminary; Mr. Emery Bacon, of the United Steelworkers; Mrs. Werner Blanchard, of the U.S. Commission to UNESCO; and others. Their names appear on the masthead of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS are encouraged to send to the Department of Social Education and Action whatever burning suggestions they may have in regard to the 1954 pronouncements. All communications of this nature will be faithfully relayed to the Counseling Committee.

## More on the "Letter"

WE COMMEND Dr. Eugene Blake's magnificent statement in *Presbyterian Life* (February 6, 1954, pages 28-33) in support of the General Council's now famous Letter to Presbyterians. We think the statement should be read in officers' meetings and other adult church gatherings.

The Letter was the occasion of a flood of mail in preponderant support of the General Council's views. The criticisms, however, were important and deserve the full analysis that Dr. Blake gives them.

The unfavorable comments suggest at once that many of our church members have little understanding of the Presbyterian tradition of Christian witness in public affairs. They seem not to have realized the kind of Church they were entering when they became Presbyterians. The corrective teaching should be applied in at least three places: (1) in the training given to new members; (2) in the round-the-year preaching program; and (3) in the special training for church officers.

It is deeply significant that virtually none of the criticisms dealt with the main propositions of the Letter.

## Short Supply

**S**PEAKING of pronouncements, the Department of Social Education and Action needs a few copies of the 1946 and 1950 pronouncements. We mean the pamphlets published by the Department in each of those years containing the social deliverances of the General Assembly. We believe that a number of readers of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* may have extra copies of these pamphlets in their files. If you have some and can spare them, please send them to us.

Our supply of important issues of *Social Progress* is also too low. We are in special need of the issues of March, October, November, and December, 1953, and January, 1954.

## Preview

**T**HE emphasis in our magazine this month is described in the title of the lead article, "The Eternal Church in the Changing Community." This article was written by Dr. Samuel Blizzard, who is serving a special assignment with the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in New York. He is "on leave" from Pennsylvania State University, where he is Professor of Rural Sociology. Dr. Blizzard is an ordained minister—Presbyterian U.S.A.

Other important articles are "Churches *Can* Adapt to Community Change," by Dr. Joseph Merchant, of the National Council of Churches; "Freedom to Teach and to Learn," by Marion Ostrander, of Hunter College; and "Everyone Favors Decent Housing," by Lee Johnson, of the National Housing Conference.

Many of our readers will be especially interested in Mrs. Ostrander's analysis of the current attacks on our public schools. This is a matter that should deeply concern all of us. Mrs. Ostrander is the wife of Dr. William H. Kilpatrick, author of the excellent book *Philosophy of Education*.

Mr. Johnson's helpful article should be read along with the statement on housing recently adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches (pages 16 and 17).

Our regular features will appeal to you—"Sanctuary," by George L. Hunt, "Christian Action," by Mabel Head and Helen Lineweaver, and "About Books," including reviews on several community issues.

—Clifford Earle

# The Eternal Church in the Changing Community

By SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD, *Visiting Professor of Social Science, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York*

## The Nature of the Church

God has called us by his Son unto repentance and newness of life. It is God's invitation that brought us into the Church. "Follow me," Jesus said, calling disciples to believe in him. And to his bewildered apostles he said, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." The very word "church" may be translated literally "the called-out-ones." The Church is the "elect from every nation."

Those of us who are members of the Church do not look on it as an association of members who have voluntarily bound themselves together. It is a fellowship of men who had to confess their faith in and allegiance to a divine Saviour. They have not gathered together merely for mutual help, even though brotherhood is a part of their creed and practice.

The Church (as seen by the believer) is not a club that exists for itself. It does not exist merely for the convenience, improvement, and satisfactions of its members. The outreach of the gospel must be implemented. The services that the Church renders for people outside are just as

essential as those that are done with and for members. The mission of the Church is to "Feed my sheep" and "Go ye into all the world."

In its community outreach the Church must not confuse its divine message with a human panacea or a social program. There is no Church, in any sense of the word, apart from human action, but the response of the Church to the community is with a divine purpose. The Church has a role to play in community development, but it is not to replicate the role of other institutions. By collaborative efforts let the Church work with other groups, but let it witness to the eternal purposes of God, demonstrate the prophets' vision of social justice, and live with the compassionate spirit of Jesus in doing so.

## The Social Structure of the Community

While the gospel is eternal and we are Scripturally reminded that Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever, we cannot overlook the fact that the ministry of the Church is to people and the witness of the Church is made in a community setting. The values for which people



strive change, and the structure of the community varies from neighborhood to neighborhood and from decade to decade. The problem of the Church is to keep its eternal understanding of the gospel clear while it adjusts to a changing society.

American community life and behavior in the present decade is not to be equated with the structure and function of the community when our Protestant forefathers settled on these shores. Nor is it the same today as it was in the period between the American Revolution and the middle of the nineteenth century. Then we were a predominantly agricultural nation and we had a relatively homogeneous culture. Neighborhoods were compact areas in which most of our social interaction occurred. People lived their lives in the same house, in the same neighborhood, interacting with the same people. Community life centered around the church, the school, and the store at the crossroads.

Industrialization set off a period of transition that began roughly with the coming of the railroad and ended with the invention of the automobile. Stable community living patterns have been upset so that people do not spend their whole life in one neighborhood. It is now a normal thing to move frequently as family needs and occupational opportunities demand. This mobility of the population has brought about a revolutionary change in community structure.

Community life in the traditional sense is no longer possible. People interact on the basis of special interests. Persons who live next door to one another are not necessarily neighbors and may not belong to a single group together or even be able to speak of the same interests. This type of community milieu is as different as black from white when compared with the culture of community life as we knew it in an earlier generation in America.

Church membership statistics' being at an all-time high in America may give us a false picture and lead some to an unwarranted optimism. The stickiness of religious statistics (they do not reflect an up-to-the-minute situation, but lag a decade or two) and the rapidity with which community life is changing call for candid admission that the Church must re-examine its community relations in the mirror of the present.

### **Limitations to the Community Witness of the Church**

Even though we love the Church and are by vow loyal to Jesus Christ, we must admit that the Church has not been so influential in the community as its mission demands or the power of the gospel permits.

Social researchers have turned up many facts that challenge us to develop a more adequate and compelling church-community relations program. In Gastonia, North Carolina, to be specific, it was found that

the Protestant Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches had not gained any significant following despite the fact that both church groups had been active in the community for about seventy years. They had reached almost no millworkers because they had not adapted themselves to the mill village system. The witness of these churches was atrophied by their inability or unwillingness to understand the structure of the community.

The effectiveness of the community witness of the Church may be measured by its ability to reach the newcomer in the city. Seneca, Illinois, was a quiet rural community in the Midwest when World War II started. Defense requirements, a navigable river, and an untapped labor supply in the surrounding farming area brought a fabricating shipyard to town. New jobs brought new residents. In the war boom hysteria, the churches welcomed more newcomers than any other organization. But not many newcomers joined the old churches. The welcome mat was in the church vestibule but it was not very inviting. Those newcomers who did participate in churches heard the witness of new voices that preached from newly established pulpits of some lesser-known denominations. The warmth and sincerity of the new voices won out over the more subdued and sometimes empty invitation of the older churches in the community.

It is a well-known fact that churches are selective of the strata of society that they serve. The social class bias of certain denominations, including the Presbyterian Church, is a notorious scandal. We are inclined to think that there are too many churches, particularly in the rural areas. We speak of overchurching. The implication is that there are more churches than there should be in relation to the number of people living in the rural areas. Recent studies of social stratification in a central Pennsylvania rural community indicate that there is *overchurching* among people with average to high social status, and *underchurching* among people with less social status. There is some reason to believe that social class is also related to *overchurching* and *underchurching* in our large cities. These facts are cited to suggest areas where the Church may enlarge its witness to the gospel in the community.

There are other areas where the effectiveness of the Church is limited by our lack of understanding of the social structure of the community. One area is the increasing secularization of social welfare in the city. Churchmen who have a concern for the needs of those that social agencies serve are in a minority. And yet, these agencies share many goals for community well-being that the Church also shares.

It is also possible to ask some heart-searching questions about the

witness of the Church and its influence at the level of community decision-making. There are many who feel that our desire to keep Church and State separate has blindly led us into the position of leaving decisions to the politicians and other community power leaders. While there may be a question about how generally true this observation is, still the impotence of the Church in community affairs cannot be overlooked, nor taken lightly.

### **Broadening Community Witness**

The Church in the modern community needs a responsible relationship to every phase of the life of people. Spiritual problems are inseparable from the other problems that people face. Political problems and spiritual problems are related. Health problems and religious problems are not separable. Decisions in politics, education, health, welfare, religion, and industry are all a part of the warp and woof of the community.

The clergy and the lay leaders of the Church have a responsibility to witness to the wider community. This witness must be communicated to those within the Christian fellowship as well as to those who are outside the fellowship.

It is difficult to see how a church session, for example, can make any definite plans for this type of comprehensive Christian witness unless

it confers widely with community leaders. By purposeful organization or by informal channels communication systems need to be established and used. If there is a council on community development, or a council of social agencies in the city, surely the Church should be represented—to listen and be informed of community conditions, needs, and problems—even though it may not be possible to witness to such a group in the more traditional manner.

Certainly the Church cannot witness effectively to those whose need is outside of its area of acquaintance. Hence there is a genuine and desperate need for church leaders (lay and clergy) to have friendly associations with leaders in other areas of community life. Some church leaders are hesitant to do this because they fear that association with these non-church leaders implies approval of their leadership methods and the goals of their organizations. The complexity of modern community life will not permit us to take a narrow view of this situation. Organizational leaders know only a part of religious life in the community and we who are leaders in the Church know only a part of the rest of the organizational structure. The complexity of life requires that we establish new vistas to broaden our view and new bridges to enlarge our understanding.

Every segment of a church's program must be evaluated from the

point of view of its community relations. In one church, to be specific, an amplifying system in the church tower was used to play hymns and religious music. It was part of the witness about Jesus Christ that this church was making to those living in the neighborhood. A small group of church members objected to the quality of religious music being used. A group that thought it offensive to their musical taste had a discussion with the minister. After they had expressed their disapproval of the choice of music and their reasons for wanting the quality improved, the minister's response was interesting. He suggested that they might understand the purpose in the choice of

music if the objectors were aware of the people in the neighborhood. He inferred that the quality of music played on the amplifying system varied as did the musical taste of the residents of the neighborhood. The ministry of music in the church was for the total community. While from the point of view of musical taste he agreed with those who preferred a higher quality, he could not agree to a single standard of musical quality from the point of view of Christian witness. If religious music amplified from the tower was a matter of Christian witness, then, the minister reasoned, it must be seen in terms of the mission of the Church and power of the gospel for the total community.

## Churches Can Adapt to Community Change

By JOSEPH W. MERCHANT, *Associate Executive Director of the Department of the Urban Church, National Council of Churches*

### I

THE crowded centers of our cities are Protestantism's acid test. More than sixty-five million of our people live on only three per cent of our land area. Where density of population reaches its peaks, there

the difficulties facing the churches are most complex.

It is obviously essential that thousands of new churches be provided for the millions of people in our mushrooming population who are thronging new communities. Many denominations are raising millions



of dollars for exactly this purpose. Suburbia should not and will not be neglected.

On the other hand, perhaps a long look is in order at the changes that are occurring in the usually deteriorating centers of our cities. Is Protestantism being defeated in these strategic areas of extreme need? Are we sufficiently aware of what is happening? The asphalt jungle becomes more desperately afflicted when its churches close their doors.

Unhappily, there has been an epidemic of door-closing in blighted or changing inner-city neighborhoods for many years. Dr. Truman Douglass has called it "a steady recession of Protestant strength and influence in the inner city." And he declares that "the first skirmish in the warfare for the recapture of the city will have to be a calculated effort to awaken an awareness of the depth and intensity of the struggle in which Protestant Christianity is involved in the urban community." An observer in one city counted forty churches that had closed their doors since the turn of the century in just one compact area.

Moreover, while the churches have been fading away or moving out, hordes of people have been moving in. Neighborhoods have changed, but churches have too often tended to become victims of chronic cultural lag. New approaches are critically needed.

But before a new strategy can be

developed, we must fully understand the situation in which it is to be tried. In fact, is not a thorough study of one's neighborhood a basic beginning to any intelligent plan for ministry to it? Can we safely take for granted, for instance, that we know the enormity of the problems of life in slum areas? A newly built Roman Catholic church, located under the Elevated structure in teeming East Harlem, is named "The Church of the Divine Agony." One assumes they know the agonies of those to whom they minister there.

Specific neighborhoods will vary in details, but the sociologists have noted many common characteristics of deteriorating inner-city areas. Overcrowding, poverty, concentrations of industries, lack of privacy, all are part of the grim picture. As people move up the economic scale and out from densely populated areas of blight, new waves of strangers take their places. These are usually groups at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale: foreign-language groups, nonwhites, and unskilled workers and their families who cannot afford to live anywhere else.

A not untypical illustration is the situation that Dr. John Ruskin found a few years ago in Washington, D. C. "After careful investigation, the following alarming facts came to my attention about our neighborhood," he wrote. "Eighty-three thousand people lived within twelve blocks of our church, in what is called the

Central Library Area. Twelve per cent of the city's population lived in three per cent of its physical area. Once-handsome residences were now changed into cheap boarding and rooming houses. Often as many as thirty-eight individuals lived in a house built for five or six people. Such conditions made for broken homes, and bred crime of all sorts. Door-key kids roamed the streets. Social diseases were rampant. One third of the juvenile delinquency was to be found here, and thirty-six per cent of all the city's crime. Tuberculosis was ravaging the colored section. And reports were showing that one half of those committed to the mental institutions were coming from this area."

Such a complex problem means that Protestantism must either adapt, or die. For the community it has too often meant that the eternal word of God dwindled to the ephemeral whisper of a dying church. Let it be quickly said, however, that most churches had no intention of deserting their obligation. They usually either did not understand their responsibility in terms of the new situation, or else they did not know how to meet it.

## II

Though it may sound drastic, the community may in the long run be better off without churches that lack a compelling sense of mission to minister to all sorts and conditions of

men. For this purpose have we been sent. If being "respectable" or ingrown in our piety has appeared to count for more than trying to be Christian; if we have, even unconsciously, permitted lines of prestige, class, or color to be drawn in our churches; if we have sought out only "our own sort" for Christian fellowship—we have in these ways denied the essential mission we profess.

And, sadly, we have thus given aid and comfort to the secular heresy that churches are *only* sociological institutions. Indeed, Dr. H. Paul Douglass, great student of the Church, stated that historically "Protestantism on the whole . . . reaches no group of which it is not the traditional faith."

Nor have the churches succeeded much in bridging social and economic distances. Commenting on this fact in a recent Cleveland address, David W. Barry, Director of the National Council of Churches' Department of Research and Survey, said, "When I studied my own Presbyterian church in metropolitan Cleveland seven years ago I discovered a curious correlation between Calvinist convictions and rental values: 66 per cent of all Presbyterian members were drawn from the 30 per cent of Cleveland's families who lived in the homes with highest rental value, while only 5 per cent of all Presbyterian members were drawn from the 29 per cent who lived in the lowest rental brackets."

To understand their mission in relation to the needs of changing neighborhoods our churches must first rekindle the fires of their own faith and compassion for all who are in the shadow of their steeples. Without adequate devotion to the divine will, there will be no adequate demonstration of the divine way.

### III

For churches *can* adapt to community change in the inner city. *The City Church*, bimonthly journal of the National Council's Department of the Urban Church, records many courageous, imaginative, and successful adaptations. Notable among them are the group ministries in the East Harlem Protestant Parish, New York, and the West Side Christian Parish, Chicago, where the churches are located in store fronts and the parishes are considered to be the people of the single block in which the church is located, though a few adjacent blocks are also served. These ministries are serving groups heretofore unreachable by established denominations. If potential parishioners are in taverns, the ministers find them there. Medical, legal, and vocational clinics; prayer cell groups; frequent contacts with police, courts, housing authorities and hospitals; the support of the disciplines of a group—all these characterize a bold new attack on city slums.

Other types of approach include

such churches as St. John's Lutheran in the Bronx or First Baptist in Chicago, where a racially inclusive ministry is deemed no eccentricity, but the natural accompaniment of neighborhood-centered service. Dr. Lincoln B. Wadsworth, of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, writes of the Chicago church: "The 'old line' members were moving out [in the 1940's] and temptation had come to the church to move with them. That the church remained to serve the people who had come to live in the area, even though many were not of the same background as its members, was the stand that restored Christianity to its rightful vitality in that community." Co-operatively with the Y.M.C.A. this church operates a community center on a non-proselyting, nonsectarian basis. Protestants numbered 201 of a total center membership of 434 in one year. Others included Jews, Catholics, Buddhists, and those of no religious preference—all sorts and conditions of men.

A community research project, conducted in East Boston for the Massachusetts Council of Churches by Dr. William J. Villaume, resulted in reduction of waste in Mission Board Administration, merging of weak parishes, and a successful federation of Congregational and Episcopal churches. This federation has an Italian associate minister.

Another hopeful method of adapting a ministry is related to new hous-

ing projects resulting from the slum clearance and redevelopment program of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The HHFA has affirmed that churches can be considered as community facilities, along with schools and shopping centers, to be provided for by planning agencies. Few projects have churches now related directly, however, which is another complication of the inner-city problem in many areas.

In Philadelphia, agreement among denominational executives resulted in a co-operative plan to keep non-competing churches in the inner city.

These are but a few indications of how churches *can* adapt, and other methods could be cited. In each successful adaptation at least these basic principles are recognized: (1) The gospel requires ministry to the people who are there, not merely to members who may not live nearby. (2) The gospel requires cutting across racial, economic, and class barriers. (3) Indigenous leadership must be trained. (4) Concern for the people's welfare involves class relationships with community agencies and social education and action on many levels. (5) The job is too big to be done by a single church or pastor alone. The fellowship and added strength of co-operation are needed.

Yes, churches *can* adapt to community change. But right now too few are succeeding at it. Will Protestantism recapture the inner city?

No prediction is ventured; but consider the stakes.

Dr. Walter G. Muelder has declared that labor unions represent the coming "middle class" in American society. Will it be a class largely unknown among the churches?

Or consider that in 1943 there were only 4,000 Negroes in the Bronx, while today there are an estimated 150,000 to 200,000. In the whole area there are only two Negro congregations of over a thousand members and only five others of over three hundred members. The pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church, mentioned earlier, comments, "The prospect of the complete secularization of the Negro in one generation is almost a certainty unless an effective home missions or church extension program comes into being in such a community."

And what is at stake for the churches outside of inner-city areas? Nothing less than the validity of their witness. Can Christian fellowship hope to convince a secular age that God is not optional if the range of its concern ignores the essential human dignity of underprivileged millions?

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*Correction*—In the reference to the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, the January issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS incorrectly listed the address of the organization. It should read 31 W. 110th Street, New York 26, N. Y.



# Freedom to Teach and to Learn

By MARION Y. OSTRANDER, *Lecturer in Philosophy of Education, Hunter College, Graduate Division*

A CRUCIAL issue facing many communities, and certainly the wider United States community, is whether there shall be freedom to teach and to learn. It is curious that this should be true at a period when schools are, with all their handicaps of overcrowding, of inadequate funds, and of teacher shortage, doing a better job with children than ever before. Especially is it curious and saddening in a democracy, where freedom to think and to learn is one of our most cherished values and one on which we wish to stand before the world. Freedom to learn is not only one of the most fundamental of freedoms; it is the one most essential to securing and preserving other freedoms. And freedom to learn requires a climate of confidence and openness to ideas, in contrast to an atmosphere of mistrust, tension, crippling need to conform and be on guard.

What is the nature of the attacks on the schools which are now, in so many communities, creating such dissension, tension, and suspicion that schools find it hard to put their minds on children and teaching rather than on defending themselves? As regards the elementary school, the attacks most com-

monly take the form of charges that the "fundamentals," meaning usually the three R's, are no longer being well taught. As regards high schools, the charges are most commonly concerned with new ways and aims (teaching social studies instead of history as a separate subject) and with statements that textbooks and teaching are not "sound" as regards American doctrine.

Are the three R's being taught poorly? A good deal of evidence is accumulating to indicate that they are taught better than ever before, due to greater insight from scientific studies of children and how they learn. Experts<sup>1</sup> who conduct school surveys in all parts of the country report that the newer ("activity") program is at least as effective as the traditional methods in teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic; that it is superior in developing skills in critical reading, elementary research techniques, civic attitudes, and understanding of social relationships; that in addition there is less emotional tension in school and better behavior on the part of the chil-

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<sup>1</sup> New York State Legislative Document (1944), No. 60, p. 29. (Report of Strayer's survey of the New York City schools.) Also, S. A. Courtis and O. W. Caldwell, *Then and Now in Education*, pp. 20, 84, 93; World Book Company, 1924.

dren. Are the three R's the only fundamentals? Or are citizenship values, concern for human relationships, emotional well-being, and the like, equally fundamental?

As regards high schools, what is the situation? Dean Ralph W. Tyler, of the University of Chicago, reports as follows the comparative findings from high school tests given in more than forty Ohio communities twenty to thirty years ago and again today (1948): "In no community did the average score of the present high school students fall below the averages of the students twenty to thirty years before; and in eighty per cent of the cases the average scores of the present high school students exceeded the averages of the earlier period. Similar findings have been obtained in several other states."<sup>2</sup>

It would seem, then, that performance in schools, as evaluated by objective, scientific studies, is, by and large, not below what it was formerly, but instead definitely better. This is not to say that every school is better today than formerly. It does seem, however, to indicate that a community that is troubled would do better to urge the school to take advantage of the new techniques which have enabled other children to learn better, rather than to pressure it to return to "the good old days" for procedures.

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<sup>2</sup> *School Review*, September, 1948, p. 387, "How Improve High School Teaching?"

**Many people are troubled** about the number of high school students who do not meet the traditional academic standards. We have now in school a much larger proportion of children of high school age than ever before, and from all sorts and varieties of backgrounds not previously reached. The majority of these do not go to college and never expected to do so. But, as believers in democracy, we deeply desire for them freedom to learn as well as possible to carry on their lives with understanding, and to enrich them with constructive values. We are thus faced with a choice. Do we wish these children to remain in school under arrangements as constructive as can be devised to meet their needs? Or shall we, by insisting that they meet the customary academic standards, force them to leave school? The latter choice relieves them of the opportunity to learn under guidance and instead automatically promotes them to full citizenship as they are. Nowhere are one's values in the area of democracy more challenged than in this decision regarding the right of the individual to learn in ways that can be meaningful to him.

Now let us look at the charge of subversive teaching in high schools. We must first ask what the community considers subversive. Is it subversive for young people who will soon be citizens to study controversial questions which adults in this

*(Continued on page 18)*

# Statement on the Church

*Adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches  
assembled in Washington, D. C., 1954*

**M**ILLIONS of Americans dwell in indecent and overcrowded housing and in congested slum areas without elementary necessities for wholesome community, family, and personal living. This contributes to juvenile delinquency, crime, divorce, disease, alcoholism, narcotics addiction, and a host of other moral and social problems.

Means are urgently needed to eliminate substandard housing and to provide a well-designed, well-constructed, and livable house of adequate size in a wholesome community environment for every person. The nation must enlist all its potential strength to solve the critical housing problem. The construction and banking industries, the local, state, and Federal Governments, the voluntary housing associations and local citizenry must all assume a share of the responsibility to cope adequately with this complex national problem. Churches and Church-related institutions and individual members of the churches should look carefully into their own ownership of substandard housing.

Uninhabitable dwellings which are structurally unsound should be torn down at the earliest practicable moment. There should be housing for every family unit, with adequate provision for those families which require more than two bedrooms. The special needs of older people and single men and women must also be met. These objectives demand the continuance of a high rate of new construction. They also require the protection or rehabilitation of older housing that is basically sound, both under pressure of enforcement of local, county, and state housing and zoning codes, and by the stimulation of voluntary neighborhood co-operation and planning. While home ownership is highly desirable, private enterprise must endeavor to meet the continuing need for more rental housing within middle-income capacity to pay.

Federal aid for housing research and experiments aimed to improve technological operations of the building industry and to find new ways to reduce building costs should be restored. This aid can contribute substantially to the long-range goal of providing good housing for every American.

# Concern for Housing

*cil of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.*

*, November 18, 1953*

In the interest of making more and better housing available for minority groups, not only must the housing supply be increased, but ways must be found to facilitate the acquisition of property for the construction of non-segregated housing and the rehabilitation of housing for nonsegregated use. We appeal to all church members to support every sound and reasonable effort to put an end to the exclusion of any person on account of race, color, creed, or national origin or ancestry from equal opportunity to rent or purchase living accommodations with all available facilities and services at equitable cost in any neighborhood. Legislation and effective administrative procedures carried out by persons skilled in intergroup relations are necessary for the elimination of discrimination in the renting of publicly assisted housing accommodations.

**W**E ALSO appeal to church members to support all sound and effective measures for a comprehensive national housing program coordinated by one Federal agency, and for the development of well-planned, integrated, and nonsegregated residential neighborhoods. Sound planning should contribute to slum clearance with adequate relocation services, urban redevelopment which will lessen population density in the congested portions of cities, modernization of outmoded restrictive building codes, and subsidized housing for the low-income portion of the population.

Without passing judgment on specific legislative proposals, support should be given to the general principle of assistance by Federal, state, and local Governments in the solution of the national housing problem. We believe that even with Federal help, local responsibility and action are fundamental to a successful attack upon the nation's slums. Community-wide forums sponsored by churches and other groups concerned with community participation in public low-rent housing, slum clearance and urban redevelopment, and co-operative housing programs have proved helpful by imparting a wider understanding of housing problems, of enabling legislation, and of requirements for participation of communities in Federal and state housing programs.

*March, 1954*



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country are discussing? Is it subversive for them to study frontier problems and developing thought, and in so doing learn how to think more discerningly and critically for themselves? Or do we wish them to stick to "facts," to our present thought patterns and solutions? Is it subversive to examine and discuss materials and ideas that enable them to understand better the points of view of enemies of democracy—both Communist and Fascist? Or it is better to leave them ignorant of the enemy's tactics and animating beliefs? The answer here will depend on whether we wish young people to grow up informed and better able to face the world of today, or to grow up at least purblind as to what is going on.

**Why the attacks on schools?** A first and most disturbing reason is that many of the attacks are inspired and engineered by certain national groups organized to oppose expenditures for public education.<sup>3</sup> With a large budget at their disposal these organizations print and distribute materials and make it a business to

work with local dissidents who have grievances—high-bracket taxpayers, people with no children, patrons of private or parochial schools, and others who have little interest in public education. In addition, they appeal to parents who, especially with instigation, become worried about their children's welfare. True, costs of public education are rising, but everything else costs more nowadays, and so will education unless children are to be penalized. It should, however, be recognized that, apart from the matter of costs, there are, in the leadership of these organized groups, people who definitely oppose public education as such and have so put themselves on record. If literature questioning or opposing the schools turns up in any community, citizens would be wise to insist on knowing where and by whom it was written and who, locally, is aiding in the distribution.

To the above reason for attacks must be added the true concern of many parents. They are sincerely disturbed by reports that schools are not "what they used to be," especially if they are not informed as to the new ways and the reasons for them. But most who visit and observe adequately the newer type school are pleased with what the children are accomplishing. It should be stressed, however, that for

<sup>3</sup> National Education Association, *Danger: They're After Your Schools* (pamphlet), Washington, D. C. David Hulburd, *This Happened in Pasadena* (Macmillan, 1951). Arthur Morse, "Who's Trying to Ruin Our Schools?" *McCall's* magazine, September, 1951. Edward Darling and staff of Center for Field Studies of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, *How We Fought for Our Schools* (Norton, 1954).

all of us brought up on the older point of view, it takes real thoughtfulness and effort to reconcile ourselves to changes from the ways we know, to see that subject matter that starts with problems of today's world is more easily made meaningful to children, to see the significance of methods that enlist as much as possible the interest of children and require many techniques in addition to memorizing and learning from books.

**Some parents are disturbed** by findings such as those of the Purdue Opinion Poll, which seemed to indicate that teen-agers do not sense the deeper meanings of democracy. Even worse, the poll seemed to indicate acceptance of views quite counter to democracy; against freedom of a newspaper to print all kinds of views; against allowing all kinds of people freedom to assemble peaceably; for widespread requirement of loyalty oaths; for censorship of books and movies; for McCarthyism methods of forcing conformity of opinion; belief in obedience and respect for authority as the most important virtues children can learn; belief that authorities should prohibit speaking by people with views counter to the majority; and the like.

The results of this poll, in the degree that they are authentic, should be disturbing, revealing as they do views clearly fascistic. The findings,

it should be pointed out, have received a good deal of criticism. In the degree that they are reliable they represent a clear community problem—but a problem requiring examination of community views rather than putting primary blame on the schools. It is, moreover, deeply disturbing that views apparently found in teen-agers are exactly the ones in adult citizens which McCarthyism appeals to and finds support in. Did these adult citizens learn their views from the teen-agers, who learned them in school, or did the teen-agers absorb them from adults in their community? If the school in these communities desires to teach young people democratic values and techniques of critical thinking, will it have the support of a liberal and understanding community, or will it be attacked by reactionary individuals and groups—groups possibly better organized than the liberal-minded citizens? The answer here is a very significant one both for our beloved children and for democracy in the United States.

This much is clear. If we wish our children to learn democratic values and ways of living, the insights and ways of free men, then communities must take pains to provide the climate of opinion to insure that this can go on. Charges against the schools will not solve this problem for us and can make it infinitely harder for schools to help.

# Everyone Favors Decent Housing

By LEE F. JOHNSON, *Executive Vice-President, National Housing Conference, Inc., the oldest citizens' national housing organization in America. Mr. Johnson has long been an authority on private and public housing*

IN HIS Message on Housing to Congress on January 25, President Eisenhower stated: "I submit herewith measures designed to promote the efforts of our people to acquire good homes, and to assist our communities to develop wholesome neighborhoods in which American families may live and prosper.

"The development of conditions under which every American family can obtain good housing is a major objective of national policy."

And so the President restated the National Housing Policy as declared in the Housing Act of 1949, sponsored in the Senate by eleven Republicans and eleven Democrats, under the active leadership of the late Senator Taft.

The American people recently responded to a Gallup poll asking what are the major domestic issues by listing decent housing among the top five problems in all sections of the country except the South.

With the President's message we find leaders of both great political parties in agreement as to our housing objectives. They differ only as to the means of achieving that ob-

jective and the speed with which the job is to be tackled.

President Eisenhower proposes to continue and in some instances to attempt new programs in an effort to aid slum dwellers and low-income families. He places almost total emphasis on increased aids through private enterprise to encourage home ownership among families of very low income, with the ultimate objective of reducing Government housing activities to a minimum. The President's message was in the most general terms possible, and his definite recommendations will have to await specific legislative proposals.

Let's see first what he recommended and then evaluate it. The recommendations include:

**Slum clearance and neighborhood renovation.** The present law authorizes the use of \$700,000,000 in Federal loans and \$250,000,000 in grants to cities for the elimination of slums. The President also recommended loan insurance to enable homeowners to renovate existing sound structures.

**Conservation of existing homes and housing.** Buyers of old

houses, according to the President, should get the same favorable financing terms as new home purchasers.

**Low-income private housing.** A new, experimental program for modest loans with low down payments on new and existing dwellings should be instituted to assist families dispossessed by slum clearance, redevelopment, conservation, or for some other public purpose.

**Low-rent public housing.** It is recommended that the present public housing program be limited to 140,000 homes at 35,000 units a year over a four-year period, pending the results of the experimental private low-income housing program.

**Minority housing.** Federal activities should, the President said, be strengthened to give minority groups an equal opportunity to get homes.

**National Housing Act.** Revisions should include higher ceilings on the mortgages that the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration will underwrite.

**Reorganization.** The Housing and Home Finance Agency, "a loosely knit federation of separate agencies," should be reorganized on the ground that "its present structure is cumbersome, inefficient, and lacks clear-cut recognition of administrative authority."

There, in general, you have the Eisenhower housing program. Basically, it is the result of several weeks of intensive study by the President's

Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs.

### What's Right with This Program?

Those who have long been associated with the national fight to clean up the slums of our cities—those who place the conservation of human values ahead of business profit—are encouraged that the Administration accepts the philosophy back of the National Housing Policy adopted in the Housing Act of 1949.

They welcome positive statements by the President that an attack will be carried on against slum blight in the core of American communities, large and small, throughout the entire nation. The President's message should make people everywhere more conscious of the moral, mental, and physical diseases that spread from slums, whether one agrees with his proposed remedies or not.

Efforts to assist private enterprise to build or restore homes to a level of decency at a monthly cost which low-income families can afford to pay is an experiment worth trying. For years, the private home-building industry has claimed that it could care for all housing needs. This will afford it an opportunity, with liberal Federal aids, to attempt to prove its point.

While the President is vague as to how the Administration will assist minority groups in obtaining equal opportunity to get homes, the ob-



jective is in good American tradition.

### What's Wrong with This Program?

At no place in the report of the President's Advisory Committee, or in the President's message, is there any indication of the facts concerning the nation's housing needs at this time. Conclusive facts have not been ascertained since the housing census of 1950. Administrator Cole was urged by public interest groups, before the Committee was named, to bring together all available information concerning today's housing needs. It is a fact disputed by no one that at least six million urban American families are presently forced for economic reasons to live in slums. Since 1950, with the exception of low-rent public housing, no homes have been built for these families, yet their number continues to grow. It is a fact that we have slipped backward in our housing supply of decent homes for families of low and middle income. Yet from all appearances the President's recommendations are made with little or no regard to ever-increasing needs.

By reducing low-rent public housing from 135,000 homes a year as provided in the Housing Act of 1949, the President in all probability is placing a barrier to his recommendations for slum clearance, redevelopment, and conservation that cannot

be overcome. At least one third of the families dispossessed by these or other public-purpose programs have incomes so low that they can never hope to obtain shelter provided by private enterprise, except slum housing. At their present incomes they are *not* potential homeowners, even under the plan for "low-cost" housing recommended by the President. Those families must be relocated under existing law in adequate housing. Without a dynamic public housing program there is no place for them to go. They cannot be forced into worse slums. Rehabilitation, slum clearance, and conservation programs are almost certain to be stopped when the relocation of these families is met head on. Experience in city after city proves that fact.

The President's program makes no effort to restore a basic housing research program. It apparently proceeds on the theory that our population is static. Its proponents claim that it will produce possibly 1,000,000 new homes a year, maybe a few more. The home-building industry itself states that we should provide 1,400,000 new homes a year. Leading housing economists, labor economists, and housing experts from coast to coast insist that it is imperative for this nation to produce at least 2,000,000 homes a year if we are to begin to catch up on the backlog of need and meet normal current demands.

And so we find the Administration going down the "middle road." Arch conservatives of his party and some Southern Democrats take the position that the President's program is too liberal. Those who are devoted to the general welfare are convinced that it is far too timid, and that its inadequacies will extend rather than decrease the spread of slum blight. The housing market will continue to tighten. Financing costs will rise and the President's housing program could well result in one of "dynamic" declarations but relatively few homes built for those whose housing need is desperate.

By early spring the issue should be joined in Congress. There will be many, both in the Senate and in the House, who will accept the good of the President's program and then fight to bring it into focus with the housing needs in this year 1954.

An adequate housing program geared to the needs of all American families will not be possible unless informed citizens from communities all over the nation insist that such a program be considered and passed by Congress.

Every citizen can be informed of his local needs. In more than nine hundred communities active local housing authorities are engaged in providing homes for families of low income. Talk to the executive director. He is a gold mine of facts. There is no substitute for a trip through the slums of your city. You can see

and smell them for yourself. Your housing director, welfare agency, or members of your local housing authority will help you to plan your visit. Your local planning and redevelopment agencies know your local story, as does your pastor and your local council of churches. Knowing your local facts, a letter to your Congressman and your Senators will be appreciated by them.

If an adequate housing program is to be adopted by Congress this year, it needs your help and your informed leadership. It must be a program that gives meaning to our national housing policy "that every American family is entitled to a decent home in a suitable living environment." Let us use good housing as a weapon on the home front to destroy foreign ideologies and dissipate fear of Communism within our borders. Good housing is the framework in which family life is strengthened. It is one heritage that we have in our power to hand to our children in this unsettled world, a heritage that will let our children know that with all of today's critical problems we were able to think in terms of protecting family life, by providing decent homes and environments from which the leaders of tomorrow may emerge strong in body and in mind. To accomplish that end, all Christian citizens can find time in their busy lives to ask our elected representatives (including our President) to raise their sights to the housing needs of today.

# Sanctuary

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## MEDITATION ON THE VERB "TO KNOW"

(NOTE: *The following service is planned for a meeting in which a group is to consider the Christian's responsibility to his community. It is built around the idea that to serve one another we need to know people as persons, as individuals, with their conflicts, their ambiguities, and all the complexities of human personality. "To know" is not merely to be aware of certain facts about a person—statistics, psychological principles, and so forth. To know God is to understand his will and to be committed, to be involved, in it. To know a person is to have such warm understanding and sympathy that you try to think as he thinks, to see his problems as he sees them. In the New Testament "the phrase 'Know the truth' is almost a synonym for 'Become a Christian' or 'Be converted': it signifies, not intellectual enrichment, but enlightenment which is a stimulus to a new way of life" [From A Theological Word Book of the Bible].*

*(In preparing this service, study carefully the way the word "know" is used in the Scripture, hymns, and prayer, and at an appropriate place in the service give a brief meditation on the meaning of "to know." If possible, build this meditation around the insights of Scripture as they are applied in the novel Too Late the Phalarope, by Alan Paton, which deals in a moving way with our need to know one another. Read the Scripture passages from the Revised Standard Version.)*

**Call to Worship** (*to be read by the leader*): Jer. 22: 13-16.

**Hymn:** "All People That on Earth Do Dwell."

### God's Knowledge of Us

**First Scripture Reading:** God's Knowledge of Us (Ps. 139: 1-18).

**Prayer** (*With the group bowed in prayer, read Ps. 139: 1-14, 23, 24, as a prayer. It would be effective to have a second person do this.*)

**Hymn:** "Lord, Thou Hast Searched Me, and Dost Know."

### Our Sin in Not Knowing Him

**Second Scripture Reading:** My People Does Not Know (Isa. 1: 1-20).

**A Modern Poem** (*Point out its relation to the theme "to know"*):

**This Side of Calvin**

The Reverend Dr. Harcourt, folk agree,  
Nodding their heads in solid satisfaction,  
Is just the man for this community,  
Tall, young, urbane, but capable of action,  
He pleases where he serves. He marshals out  
The younger crowd, lacks trace of clerical unction,  
Cheers the Kiwanis and the Eagle Scout,  
Is popular at every public function.  
And in the pulpit eloquently speaks  
On divers matters with both wit and clarity:  
Art, Education, God, the Early Greeks,  
Psychiatry, Saint Paul, true Christian charity.  
Vestry repairs that shortly must begin—  
All things but Sin. He seldom mentions Sin.

—*From A Short Walk from the Station, by Phyllis McGinley, copyright 1946. Originally appeared in The New Yorker. Used by permission of the Viking Press, Inc.*

**Hymn:** "O God of Earth and Altar."

**The Love That Makes Us Know**

**Third Scripture Reading:** Put On Love (Col. 3: 5-17).

**Meditation:** On the verb "To Know."

**Prayer:** "O holy and blessed Trinity, let me so dwell in the mystery of thy heavenly love that all hatred and malice may be rooted out from my heart and life. Let me love thee, as thou didst first love me; and in loving thee let me love also my neighbor; and in loving thee and my neighbor in thee let me be saved from all false love of myself; and to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be all glory and praise for ever. Amen."—*John Baillie, A Diary of Private Prayer (slightly altered). Copyright, 1949, by Charles Scribner's Sons. Used by permission.*

**Hymn:** "O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go."

**Closing Prayer** (*Have the same person who read the first prayer in the service read again Ps. 139: 23, 24*).

—*Prepared by George L. Hunt, Editor for Adult Publications, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

*March, 1954*



# Christian ACTION

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## UNITED NATIONS NEWS NOTES

**Membership**—At the close of the General Assembly in mid-December the question of admitting new members was still unsolved. The special committee appointed to make recommendations found it impossible to do more than say that the present plan was generally unacceptable. Only two suggestions came from the committee: Bypass the Security Council and throw the whole question into the General Assembly; admit as a group all those whose applications were pending. The Charter specifies Security Council action and the International Court upheld this provision, so number one is out. The U.S.A. has opposed the group plan without consideration of individual merit, though there seems to be a growing sentiment for this plan. The U.S.S.R. vetoed admission of Austria, Jordan, Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, and Libya, but later agreed to withdraw its veto if assured that Albania, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and the Mongolian People's Republic were approved. The question of Chinese representation will come up with vigor as soon as peace in Korea is assured. Communist China was named an ag-

gressor when it entered the Korean war.

**Genocide**—A delegate from Cuba, speaking before the General Assembly, made a strong appeal for all nations to ratify the Convention Against Genocide, which outlaws the systematic destruction of national, ethnic, and religious groups. He stated that twenty million persons have perished from genocide in this century; that forty-one states have ratified. (The U.S. is not among the forty-one).

**Narcotics**—When Spain became the twenty-third state to ratify the new Protocol on Limitation of Opium Production, it seemed almost certain that the required number, twenty-five, would sign. It is the first treaty in forty-four years of negotiation to get at the matter of the cultivation of the poppy. It means a cut in production from two thousand to five hundred tons a year. Only seven countries—Bulgaria, Greece, India, Iran, U.S.S.R., Turkey, and Yugoslavia—will have the right to export opium. In certain cases the Permanent Opium Board will have the right of inspection, and in extreme cases sanctions may be invoked against a

nation that fails to carry out the provisions of the protocol.

Another article limits the use of the drug "exclusively to medical and scientific needs." The U.S.A. will benefit by this agreement. The large production abroad feeds the illicit smuggling traffic in the U.S.A. With only part of the nations participating, including Communist China, the largest producer, the effect of the protocol is limited but it shows progress.

**Refugees**—A few facts from the report of the High Commissioner for Refugees, Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, may be of interest. In Wolfrach, Germany, the first of a series of temporary housing projects has been opened. Fifty-six semipermanent houses accommodating 224 persons was built with \$40,000 from the Ford Foundation Grant for Refugees. This is part of an aid plan for 20,000 refugees. Of the 2 million placed under the care of the High Commissioner a couple of years ago, 1 million still remain to be resettled; 1 out of every 10 of them wants to come to the U.S.A. One of his most urgent problems is the plight of 15,000 European refugees in Communist China. The problem of Arab refugees is still desperate, although 71,600 children of the 876,000 Arab refugees from the Palestine war are attending schools operated by UNESCO and the UN Relief and Works Agency.

**UNESCO**—So many questions

have been raised about this important agency of the UN that all who care about the UN should be informed about its work and able to answer the critics. The President asked his delegates to the summer session of the UNESCO General Conference especially to investigate its work and make some valuation. That group have made their report, which should be widely read. It can be secured from the Department of State, Washington, D. C., Publication No. 5209. Only a few points can be given here.

- The top officers and the Secretariat, American and non-American, are doing their work with fidelity.

- The influences that predominate have full regard for human rights and the fundamental freedoms approved in the Charter.

- UNESCO does not advocate world government; does not attempt to undermine national loyalties or to substitute supranational loyalty for love for country.

- The Constitution prohibits interfering in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of states.

- UNESCO does not attempt to interfere with the American school system.

The delegation made a careful survey of the matter of Communist control or influence and reports convincingly that they found no evidence to support this accusation that has been made against UNESCO.—  
*Mabel Head, UN Observer*

## ★ Citizenship ★

WASHINGTON is taking another look at predictions of legislative results in this session of Congress. While it is still too early for any definite forecasts, observers are impressed by the "professional precision" of the Administration's operations on the "Hill."

The St. Lawrence Seaway project, a political "football" in Congress for twenty years, has passed the Senate and been reported out by a House committee with a substantial majority. Hawaiian statehood, which seemed doomed shortly after the opening of the session, has taken on new life. And the Bricker Amendment, in its original form at least, has died "aborning" after an original sponsorship of two thirds of the Senate.

In the words of *The Washington Post*: "These things didn't just happen. They are the result of that new professional touch." "More than any other individual, President Eisenhower has shaped the course of events up to the moment," writes *The New York Times*.

**Housing**—Described by their authors as Administration measures designed to carry out the President's housing recommendations, identical bills were introduced early in February by Senator Capehart (R., Ind.) and Rep. Wolcott (R., Mich.), chairmen of the Senate and House

committees handling such legislation.

The bills lower down payments by varying amounts and reduce monthly payments by extending to 30 years, instead of the present 20 or 25, the time in which a loan must be paid off. These terms would apply alike to new and used houses. There is now a differential.

No mention is made of the 35,000 units per year requested by the President for the public housing program. Chairman Wolcott said that the 1949 Housing Act, which is still on the books, authorizes up to 135,000 units per year and he saw no reason to include in specific terms a lower authorization. He said a simple amendment could remove the 20,000 per year restriction authorized for the current year.

A new program providing 100 per cent Government insurance for low-cost housing up to \$7,000 would be provided for families displaced by slum clearance or any other "Government action." These loans would be granted only at the request of the community affected and would be repayable over a 40-year period.

The legislation further provides \$1.5 billion in new FHA mortgage insuring authority plus an extra half billion if the President requests it; a broad program aimed at eliminating slums; a \$10 million fund for Federal advances to local commu-

nities and states as an aid in blue-printing public works projects (this could be rapidly expanded if the economic situation should demand a full-scale program); and an increase in the amount of insured loans and longer repayment periods for modernization of homes.

### **Federal Aid to Education—**

Late in January, two bills designed to advance the Administration's program in this field were introduced by Senator Alexander Smith (R., N.J.) Chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

One of these bills provides for a White House Conference on Education as set forth in the President's State of the Union Message. This conference would be preceded by conferences in each of the 48 states and in Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia.

The second bill provides for the establishment of a National Advisory Committee on Education in the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. It provides that the committee would be composed of a lay group of nine members, appointed for three-year terms without regard to Civil Service laws.

A bill proposing a program of Federal aid to the states for public-school construction has been introduced by twenty Democratic senators, headed by Senator John L. McClellan (D., Ark.). It is described

as a "no-strings-attached" measure which places special emphasis on helping states least able to help themselves. The bill provides no specific appropriation, leaving it to Congress to determine later the exact amounts.

The legislation also provides that no Federal department or employee "shall exercise any direction, supervision, or control" over schools by reason of the program. Senator McClellan said he believed this would eliminate much of the opposition which in the past has blocked Federal aid for schools.

**Child-Aid Grants**—An Administration bill providing for a complete revision of the Federal grants-in-aid program administered by the Children's Bureau has been introduced by Rep. Daniel Reed (R., N.Y.). All three programs in the Bureau would continue but would be handled differently in regard to funds. These three programs—maternal and child health services, crippled children's services, and child welfare services—carry the same amount under the new Eisenhower budget as they were allotted for the current year, \$41,500,000.

Dr. Eliot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, says, "I am certainly supporting this bill—I believe it would have definite advantages in improving the quality of the services to children and mothers."

—Helen Lineweaver



# About Books

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**Community Planning for Human Services**, by Bradley Buell and Associates. Columbia University Press. \$5.50.

A bewildering assortment of social welfare agencies, departments, and units, costing \$13,000,000 a year, serve over half of the families in our communities. Churchmen concerned with the alleviation of human suffering and SEA committees that are following the recommended emphasis on local community will find invaluable Mr. Buell's precise data and analysis of these human services. His documentation material was compiled largely from recent studies made by Community Research Associates which focused on the family unit.

The growth and change in American concepts and methods of social responsibility are traced throughout the last fifteen years of "whirlwind expansion and specialization." The large-scale services have grown up without co-ordinated planning and have resulted in an unbelievable state of confusion. The purpose of this book is to "create a framework for a coherent program of community well-being." It deals with four main problems: dependency, ill-health,

maladjustment, recreational need. Each is analyzed from the standpoints of responsibility, characteristics, community-wide functions, and community coherence needed.

The final paragraph contains a succinct summary. To quote in part: "This volume [has] concentrated upon a great community enterprise built by our people for the common welfare. [It] requires and deserves the thoughtful attention of the professional and layman alike. It calls for disciplined thought, courage, and patience."

—Juliet Blanchard

**A Social Program for Older People**, by Jerome Kaplan. University of Minnesota Press. 158pp. \$3.00.

Analysis of the needs of older persons, the importance of membership and participation in a group, description of successful methods of organizing and directing a group, the role of the trained social worker and the volunteer are the leading topics of this helpful book.

When read with *Add Life to Their Years*, by Wahlstrom (National Council of Churches), it will provide virtually all that is required for the planning, guidance, and support of group work for older persons.

Ministers and other church members are urged to note the limitations that creed and physical structure of their churches may place upon their utilization for group work. A church that is not prepared to make its group a true community affair, welcoming all regardless of creed or color or nationality, will fall short of attaining the real values possible in this program.

Kaplan has included excellent suggestive materials, useful in organization, and a fine bibliography for those who wish to study the whole field of group work more thoroughly. Most important, however, is the sound understanding of the nature of man running through the entire work.

Man is a social animal and responds to the stimulus of group activity. But he is always an individual and can be helped even in a group only if he is loved as an individual.

—*John Park Lee*

**American Foreign Assistance**, by William Adams Brown, Jr., and Redvers Opie. Brookings Institution. 586 pp., with 19 pages of bibliography and a 14-page index. \$6.00.

In the twelve years between 1941 and 1952 the United States gave over 90 billion dollars in foreign assistance. The authors of this book have sought to trace where the money went, why it was given, and what good, if any, it accomplished. Their conclusions are worth careful study

while the need for some form of foreign support continues today.

Churchmen will be interested in one particular conclusion drawn by the authors. "In the future, as in the past, foreign assistance must be routed in the interest of the United States, broadly interpreted, it is true, but still in the American interest. This is not a narrow or unenlightened outlook. The role of neither giver nor receiver in international relations is dignified; and a world system in which some countries depend on the bounty of others rests on an insecure foundation. Apart from the question of the morale of the recipient, the giving of assistance inevitably raises questions of interference in the affairs of other countries; and there is ample evidence that countries now or recently in receipt of American assistance are desirous of bringing this phase of postwar history to a close. Assistance must rest on mutuality of interest. The United States has been a net provider of material assistance to its associates, but proper regard has been given to its ability to play this part in the mutual system without injury to its own economic well-being and security. Whatever may be the disparities between the reciprocal flows of the system in the future, the mutuality of the system must be recognized as genuine by both parties to the contract. This is possible for the United States only if the broad national interests continue to be made

the foundation of foreign assistance policy."

**God's Order, the Ephesian Letter and This Present Time**, by John A. Mackay. The Macmillan Company. 202 pp. \$3.00. Outlined and indexed.

While not a commentary in the usual sense, the book is an exposition of the central thought of Paul's letter. It is focused on both the eternal and the contemporary. Like a photograph of a great city taken through an archway, the order in which we now exist is shown framed about by God's eternal will.

The same spirit that shines forth from the Presbyterian General Council's recent letter to its members is contained in this book, as might be expected. To better understand the former, one is well advised to read the latter.

—*Jay W. Kaufman*

**Community Welfare Organization**, by Herbert Hewitt Stroup. Harper & Brothers. 612 pp., with index. \$6.00.

Here is a comprehensive resource book useful to anyone concerned for the health and welfare of the modern community. The volume is encyclopedic in its coverage of the nature and history of human community,

the structure of those agencies designed to serve the community, and the processes of welfare planning.

Packed with charts and statistics and yet quite readable in format—the digest at the end of each chapter is especially helpful—Mr. Stroup's work calls upon the resources of many disciplines in its search for an understanding of community betterment.

Especially interesting to this reviewer was an early chapter dealing with the nature of social work: its goals and its motives. In a day when the do-gooders are often in disrepute, it is important to examine the grounds of the Christian's concern for community. It is part of the contemporary Church's responsibility to recover the true meaning of charity. As Christians at work in community activities we must yearn for the spirit of Him who "went about doing good."

The person who reads this book will realize something of the great problems confronting the community welfare agencies in our time. In a day when the so-called "welfare state" is under attack from certain quarters in our nation, it is necessary for Christians to be prepared to strengthen all programs that lead to the bearing of burdens of one another.

—*Robert C. Lamar*

**The Stranger at Our Gate**—America's Immigration Policy is a new and valuable Public Affairs Pamphlet by Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr. It may be ordered from Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16. New York. 25 cents.

## FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

### Presbyterian Women at Purdue

**W**E EXTEND greetings and good wishes to the women of the Presbyterian Church. We trust that your highest desires for the National Meeting at Purdue University in the early days of June will be more than realized.

Women compose the most important segment of our Church. This judgment is based not on personal bias or on mathematical computation, though women constitute two thirds or more of the membership of our churches, but on their tremendous spiritual vitality and moral force.

Especially significant has been the alert and sensitive leadership of Presbyterian women in social education and action. They have made this emphasis an integral part of their program on local, presbyterial, and synodical levels where the social education and action secretary is a designated member of the program department. A representative of the National Council of Presbyterian Women's Organizations serves as a member of the Church's Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.

In a large number of churches, the women's organization is really carrying the ball in interpreting and encouraging Christian social witness. In many instances the concern of the women has resulted in the establishing of church-wide programs under the Christian education committee or the session. It is a well-known fact that in many presbyteries the most informed and understanding leaders in social education and action are women who have received their training and inspiration in PWO.

The Purdue meetings undoubtedly will set up guides and goals for new achievements in this important area of evangelical witness and outreach.

This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is dedicated to the women of our Church. It is planned to assist them in their deliberations at the Quadrennial meeting. Copies of this magazine will be used by discussion leaders as they prepare for their important assignments. They will also be included in the packets for the delegates.



## Social Action Is Church-wide

MUCH of what modern missionaries do to help to enrich the lives of people in less-privileged parts of the world can be described as Christian social action. Indeed, some of our mission projects in India and elsewhere are among our most dramatic and vivid illustrations of what Christian social action is all about. It is no wonder that great programs of UN and American technical assistance are closely co-ordinated with missionary efforts and often make use of missionary personnel.

The idea that social action is related to evangelism and to missions is implied in the very composition of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action. The General Assembly provides that this important committee include representatives from the Board of National Missions and The Board of Foreign Missions. The department that carries responsibility for this part of the Church's program is wisely located in the Board of Christian Education because social education is involved, constantly and deeply, in all phases of Christian education. The tie to missions through the three-Board make-up of the Counseling Committee is equally significant.

## The Issue of Personal Freedom

THE issue of personal freedom is one in which we Presbyterians have a traditional interest. Our doctrine is clear in asserting that God alone is Lord of conscience. No earthly power has the right to pre-empt the divine rule and to claim for itself the allegiance which belongs to God alone. The right of a man to be free, of course, involves him in the duty to do what he can to extend to all the rights he claims for himself as a child of God.

In the kind of world in which we live, to be sure, it is exceedingly difficult to mark the lines between one man's freedom and his neighbors' rights—especially when people are set apart in nations, and peace is in the balance, and national security may be at stake. In a time of relative danger and emergency such as now, certain margins of freedom may need to be sacrificed for the sake of wider security.

At the present time, however, as the General Council's "Letter to Presbyterians" of last fall pointed out, there seems to be in progress an inordinate erosion of basic human rights. The now-famous Letter pointed out that treason and dissent are being confused. "The shrine of conscience and private judgment, which God alone has a right to enter, is being invaded."

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The General Council's Letter and certain pronouncements of the last two General Assemblies have led many to the conclusion that the Presbyterian Church is opposed to McCarthyism, which has been described in *Time* magazine as "a cynical exploitation of genuine fears, a studied contempt for fair play, a cunning talent for concealing failures by loudly baying after new victims" (see article "Man of the Year," January 4, 1954).

We flatter the Senator from Wisconsin, however, when we attach his name to the evil consequences of an "almost exclusive concentration upon the problem of the threat of Communism." As Mark Ethridge says, he is only the archangel of darkness, not the devil himself. The malady goes deeper than any one man. There is real danger that in our hysteria to achieve what we regard as security we tear out the real roots of security—our confidence in ourselves and in one another.

The Communist conspiracy is not fiction, and it has been far more pervasive than many of us have dreamed, but the real subversives are those who arrogate to themselves the right to define what is American and what is 100 per cent American, and in the name of security whittle away at hard-won human liberties. Against this kind of subversion, as well as the other, the churches must now cast their influence.

## Emphasis for 1955 — Economic Life

THE social education and action emphasis for 1955 is the Christian and his economic responsibilities. This theme will be developed in a series of programs for circle meetings in local churches.

Women may shy away from the word "economics," yet it seems to have been fashioned for them. According to Webster, "economics" is defined as "pertaining to the management of a household or of a private estate or income." It is also defined by Webster as "pertaining to the satisfactions of man's needs."

It is a sobering fact that the women of America make most of our economic decisions. They do most of the buying. They own most of the wealth. A large proportion of consumer goods are planned and packaged so as to satisfy the real or imagined needs of women.

Housewives constitute one of the most important groups in America. A great many of the dilemmas they face in daily life, calling for decision and action, are related to their economic responsibilities. These "on the job" economic decisions have to do not only with the purchasing of food and

furniture and clothing but also with the handling and using of these consumer goods in the daily routine of the home.

The economic studies for 1955 are based on a new reading book by Marquis Childs and Douglass Cater, *Ethics in a Business Society*. This book will be available in May in a 35-cent edition in the Mentor Series. A study guide is being prepared by the Department of Social Education and Action. The reading book is really based upon six volumes published by Harpers which are the result of a long study project carried on by the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches. The study committee, headed by Charles Taft, included some of the most eminent Christian leaders in American economic life—businessmen, professional economists, Government leaders, labor representatives, agricultural experts as well as theologians.

We can promise that the proposed study of economic responsibilities will be one of the most interesting ever offered to the women of our churches.

## Receiving the Homeless

THE Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. made a great record in its Displaced Persons' program after the war. Women's organizations throughout the Church had a great deal to do with the success of this project by which several thousand people were received into this country.

In the summer of 1953, Congress enacted legislation providing for the entrance into America of 214,000 additional refugees. For a time it seemed that the churches would be unable to participate in the proposed program of refugee resettlement because of harsh and unnecessary requirements for the sponsorship and endorsement of individual cases. Federal immigration authorities have revised the requirements in such a way that denominational agencies can now share responsibility. This change makes it possible for our Church again to get into the business of receiving refugees who have been displaced from their home lives by the cold war.

The Committee on Resettlement Services has been established on an interboard basis as the agency for developing the refugee resettlement program. The Committee has offices at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10. The executive secretary is Miss Margaret Gillespie.

Clifford Earle  
Margaret Kuhn  
H. B. Sissel

# United Nations Under God— A Symposium

Our Presbyterian Church through repeated actions of the General Assembly has given unwavering support to the United Nations and its high goals for peace and the advancement of mankind. Guided by this stand of the Church, leaders of our Presbyterian women's organizations have continually pressed for a strong UN and have urged local women's groups to study its projects, hopes, and accomplishments.

Presbyterian women witness to their belief in one living God, the creator and sovereign ruler of the nations, in their efforts to achieve one world.

These leaders in our women's program have suggested in this symposium what every Presbyterian woman can do in her family group, her church, and in the political party of her choice to strengthen the UN and its influence in this troubled and divided world. —Margaret E. Kuhn

## A New Togetherness

MANY times in the Scriptures we are confronted with the statement, in varied wording, that we are "of one blood . . . for to dwell on all the face of the earth," that man is created in God's image. If there were only one such reference, we might push it gently yet firmly into one corner of our mind, to be taken out on Brotherhood Sunday only, or whenever the desire to be virtuous excels! But the prophets, Jesus Christ, and Paul all constantly remind us of the family of God, in which he is Father and all are brothers.

Today, as never before—with speed of transportation, chaotic destruction available in man-made force, communications transporting ideas with dramatic speed from one

people to another—there is a desperate practicality to the essentially spiritual background of these teachings. As heirs of John Calvin, who taught "the sovereignty of God" and the concept of man's spiritual nature as "the chief part of our nature," we today have a deep moral responsibility to work unceasingly for the democratic processes among mankind.

If we believe in the essentially spiritual quality of each person as a child of God, then it becomes our task to work through every honorable channel for the fulfillment of this ideal in the betterment of mankind. In today's world the United Nations, not only through its opportunity for debate, discussion, and meeting together, but through its



wide program of ministering to the economic and physical needs of mankind, is striving to bring a new togetherness among the nations of the world. It is the meeting ground in our time.

As Christians, believing in God and in man's individual worth, we must labor tirelessly for the abolition of disunity and for the ideal of

brotherhood and peace in and through the United Nations. Believing, we must work; working, we must pray . . . that the nations may come before the Lord.

—Ada Sherwin Black, *member, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; member, Executive Committee, National Council of Women's Organizations*

## Our Family and World Friendships

PREPARING one's family to live in "one world" is not an educational theory, but an adventuring way of life.

Our summer vacations have taken us camping over much of the United States. In camp grounds and national parks we've met all sorts of people: the boy of a D.P. family, newly come to this country; a college professor; a well-known New Testament scholar; a man from an auto assembly line; a school superintendent born in China, who knew our friends there. Sometimes our car has taken us to National Missions projects—a visit to Warren Wilson College, an overnight stop at Carmen, an afternoon at Pittman Center, after reading *So Sure of Life* on the drive from New Jersey to Tennessee. Then there is the family news of radio talks with Uncle Dave and Aunt Margaret in Nicaragua and the family slides Dad took when he installed the electric light plant at Uncle Dave's mission hospital; a

summer spent there by our elder son and the occasional exciting visits with them at Grandma's house. There are the letters and furlough visits from our "Y" friends in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. These help to make real the world-wide fellowship of the Church.

On what better foundation can one build the idea that in political and economic life we need a world-wide fellowship too; that the UN is our best means to create such a fellowship; and that mutual helpfulness through UN Technical Assistance can build toward "one world" just as surely as the missionary outreach of the Church is creating a world-wide Christian community.

But sometimes the world comes to us: in constructive radio and TV programs—all too scarce, but still to be found; or in the bustle and excitement of helping to settle two D.P. families. Twelve-year-old Bruce remembers with pride being invited to attend the Hungarian wedding of

one of these new friends. And who in our family will forget the Christmas we entertained three Hindu students, or the Indian meal one of them prepared for us on a second visit—so much we gained from these contacts.

Now that the two older children are in college a letter can sometimes explain why we spent our time this fall fighting a bingo referendum,

why we love our SEA work, and what our Church stands for better than when they were home. And if either should want to study or work abroad, we would try to live up to our ideals of "one world" and encourage them to go.

—**Lucy Kummel Thaeler**, *SEA secretary, Morris and Orange Presbyterian*

## What Are We Doing About It?

**P**ERHAPS a fair approach to any discussion of the UN would be to ascertain what is being done in one Midwestern community, and then face what should be done.

"The United Nations program is not well thought of in our community," said one educator. Then, in answer to our question, "Just what is being done to educate youth concerning the United Nations throughout our school system?" he replied quite truthfully: "Very little. I would say that anything that is being done is negligible."

We called another schoolman. "We feel that not enough is being done," said he; "but some progress is being made. Some coverage of the subject is made in our elementary schools, through history classes; in our junior high and senior high school, in social studies. Programs are presented at assembly periods." And then he continued: "One of the most telling programs was a graduation exercise of our junior high school.

Instead of the usual type of program, the class set up a model general assembly. Those who attended left saying that now they knew more about the actual workings of the UN than ever before."

We found that most civic and luncheon groups included some phase of the United Nations in their program, but no consecutive study. One large church, through its circle of business and professional women, held a three months' study, followed by a city-wide series of forum-type meetings.

Blocks of time were released by the radio station for the UN publicity programs, with full coverage of General Assembly proceedings during sessions.

That is the picture—unfortunately a typical one, we believe. Now, what should we be doing?

• We should be studying in every organization of our churches the entire program of the UN—its successes, its future. We highly recom-

mend the article appearing in *The Christian Century*, December 16, 1953, entitled "UN—Snare or Shield?"

- We should become winsomely and intelligently vocal as members of other organizations in helping to correct some biased information being made available to membership.

- We should help to organize study groups of forthright, earnest people, who will follow through with objective and unbiased study.

- We should visit the UN, if possible, and share with others any authoritative printed material we find helpful.

- We should know by actual sur-

vey what is being done in our own community and patiently persevere in arousing interest in intelligent and real education concerning the UN.

- We should encourage teaching about the UN and the international responsibilities of Christians in our church schools.

- We should support public-school administrators and teachers in their efforts to make our young people UN-minded.

—**Lenna E. Robison**, *member, Executive Committee, National Council of Women's Organizations; chairman, Women's Counseling Committee, Board of Christian Education*

## Its Achievements

WHEN the nations met together in San Francisco to form a charter under which they would work together for a peaceful and free world, they realized that the aspirations of subject or dependent people must be recognized and provision made for their advancement. Many UN projects and activities so closely parallel the missionary outreach of the Christian churches that they practically converge. Three chapters of the charter are devoted, for example, to the independence of subject peoples. Two of them, XII and XIII, describe the Trusteeship System. The Trusteeship Council is the organ of the UN responsible for operating the System.

Eleven territories, with a population of about 19 million, are under the Council at the present time:

*Administered by*

New Guinea . . . . .	Australia
Ruanda-Urundi . .	Belgium
Cameroons . . . . .	U.K.
Cameroons . . . . .	France
Togoland . . . . .	U.K.
Togoland . . . . .	France
W. Samoa . . . . .	New Zealand
Tanganyika . . . . .	U.K.
Nauru . . . . .	Australia, N.Z., U.K.
Pacific Islands . . .	U.S.
Somaliland . . . . .	Italy

In some of these areas mission work has been carried on for some

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time. Our Presbyterian missionaries have been active in the Cameroons and Togoland. When the Trusteeship Council makes its reports it frequently calls upon Christian missions for help and consultation. This is especially true when it is seeking native leaders.

It is the business of the Council to know the conditions in each territory, to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the people; to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world.

Heretofore peoples in dependent areas have had little or no voice in the disposition of their affairs. The fact that the Council, in carrying out its work, is to receive and examine petitions submitted by individuals and groups is a significant forward step. More than seven hundred have been considered and some action taken, especially on those dealing with lack of educational or health facilities or discrimination. A most interesting story is that of the efforts to unite the Ewe peoples of the Togoland and to remove some of the difficulties due to the division of the supervision of two countries—the United Kingdom and France. Both these supervising countries have worked with the Council to try to relieve a tense situation. The trust territory of Western Samoa now has

a legislative assembly with native representation and is moving toward self-government.

Not all the non-self-governing people are under the Trusteeship System. All mandated areas from the First World War are trust areas. Many other dependent areas are part of the colonial system. No visiting missions can be sent to them with authority to report, no petitions come from them, but actions taken in the Trusteeship Council do have some effect in colonial areas. Any country can move through the United Nations to transfer to the Trusteeship Council an area under its supervision.

The Churches have long had a concern for the well-being of dependent people and at San Francisco worked for the creation of an agency to look after such areas. They have often helped members of visiting missions to secure information and find leaders, and to analyze situations. Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director of the Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, has been an excellent interpreter to church and educational groups. He says: "The so-called backward peoples have become sufficiently advanced in recent times to contribute to democracy's victory in two world wars. They expect and deserve a fair share of the fruits of these historic efforts to preserve a free world."

—**Mabel Head**, *UN observer*



# The World in Christian Perspective

By CLIFFORD EARLE, *Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education*

PRESBYTERIAN women are aware that the proper field of Christian witness and service is no less than the wide world. By their zeal for missions they affirm that there is nothing narrow or provincial about Christianity.

In considering our Christian responsibility in the field of international affairs we might ask such questions as these: Ought we as Christians, even more than as citizens, to be concerned with foreign relations? Is American foreign policy, or any detail of it such as economic aid or disarmament, a proper subject for a prayer meeting? Is it right for the Church to advocate firm support of the United Nations? To these questions we must bring the qualities of Christian compassion and world-mindedness that mark our interest in the missionary enterprise.

## Christian Basis of Concern

Some people in our churches insist that international relations are not the business of the Church, missions notwithstanding, because they have something to do with politics. Many Presbyterians believe that the Church should take no position on any political issue, especially if the issue is the least bit controversial.

Pleading the doctrine of the separation of Church and State, which was never intended to be used in this way, they say that the Church's mission in regard to political questions is merely to tell people to do their duty as citizens, without attempting to set out guideposts and goals.

This kind of thinking appeals to our lethargy, but it does not gibe with the Church's prophetic role in the world. The Church of Christ cannot be neutral in the midst of any controversy that affects the moral rights and spiritual well-being of persons. Objective, yes, but never neutral!

Neither does this talk of being neutral on issues that happen to be political gibe with our Presbyterian tradition. We have only to recall John Calvin's influence in Geneva, John Knox's influence in Scotland, John Witherspoon's influence in American public life at the time of the Revolution to know that Christian witness in political affairs is very much a part of our Presbyterian credo and heritage.

I urge you to read "The Statement of the Reformed Faith in Relation to Social Concern and Action" which was adopted last June by our General Assembly and by the General As-

sembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. The statement emphasizes our duty to seek "to bring national life and all the institutions of society into conformity with the moral government of God, and into harmony with the Spirit of Jesus Christ." It reminds us that Christian faith, as we Presbyterians see it, is relevant to social and political life.

### Person-centered

In asserting the everyday relevance of faith we are concerned with persons and with everything in the world that affects persons.

Here we have the joining of social action and evangelism. There was a time when we made a wide distinction between the two. We used to differentiate between personal religion and social religion in such a way that evangelism and social action seemed to have very little in common, and their respective devotees were hardly on speaking terms. But when we are concerned about social issues because of their bearing upon persons in the light of God's desire for men, we erase the distinction between these two great expressions of practical Christianity. Social action and evangelism have a common goal.

We are concerned about international justice and good will because we know what happens to people when one nation betrays and enslaves another. We are concerned about the United Nations because of its vast programs by which the lives

of persons are made a little more secure and free and full. We are interested in all that our Government says about disarmament and about the pooling of atomic resources for peaceful purposes because we know what another world war would do to men and women and children.

### Soviet Power

A dominant reality, and the occasion for much of our anxiety, is the Soviet world. Our Church in General Assembly pronouncements has been outspoken in condemning Soviet Communism with its deceiving appeal to human hopes and resentments, its ruthless suppression of every form of dissent, its world-wide conspiracy to undermine democratic institutions, its deliberate betrayal of truth and sincerity. We see in the Soviet system the repudiation of our most cherished convictions about the dignity of men under God and about their rights and responsibilities in a free society.

The conflict between the Soviet world and the free world poses for us many dilemmas and many dangers. America's duty would seem to be clear. It is to resist Soviet expansion and at the same time to avoid a third world war. The decisions are difficult. The issues are immensely complicated. The Church's duty is to counsel courage and caution, persistence and patience, resolution in all that is right and repentance for our guilt before God.

In resisting Soviet power, however, let us remember that our conflict is not with the beguiled and betrayed people who live under the tyranny and are its victims. They are, like us, beloved of God. We extend to them our friendship and good will. We pray that they may ever hope and strive for freedom, and that changes may come in Soviet policies conducive to faith and peace.

### **World Revolution**

Another dominant reality today is the revolutionary upheaval that is taking place in many parts of the world, especially in the technically less developed regions. Tremendous events in Asia, in Africa, in the Middle East, in Latin America, cannot be truly measured apart from our understanding of this revolution.

The revolt is compounded of many social forces. It is a passionate nationalism in rebellion against colonial domination. It is a movement against hunger and misery associated with foreign exploitation. It is a flaming resentment against racial arrogance.

There is much in this vast revolutionary upheaval with which we in America, by our tradition, ought to be deeply sympathetic. Indeed, the revolt has been inspired in no small degree by our own democratic ideals and practices. Yet how often have our friends in these less-developed regions been disappointed and disillusioned by what they have seen—

our obsession with Communism as a conspiracy so that we compromise freedom in the name of security, and our continuing racial discriminations in denial of fundamental human rights.

In this connection, we must remember that every exhibition of racial prejudice is not only unchristian, it is also, and especially today, dangerously un-American. Vice-President Nixon had much to say about this after his visit to the Orient last fall. In reporting to the nation by radio and television on December 23, he said, "Every act of racial discrimination . . . hurts America as much as an espionage agent who turns over a weapon to a foreign country."

That is the world today, dominated by two overarching facts—expanding Soviet power and world-wide revolutionary upheaval.

### **The Church's Witness**

The social pronouncements of the General Assembly represent our Church's stand on many public questions. In the field of international affairs, our Church has spoken on such issues as international trade, technical assistance, disarmament proposals, militarism and defense, Displaced Persons and refugees, immigration, and the cold war. Each is important and merits discussion. In this short space, I would like to deal with the UN as a focus of Christian concern and action.

There is no question about the attitude of our Church. Year after year, since the founding of the United Nations in 1945, our General Assembly has endorsed and blessed the organization, and has encouraged its support. Our Church has specifically called upon our Government to make the United Nations "a major cornerstone in our foreign policy," has called for the support of specialized agencies related to the United Nations, has urged that American programs of economic aid and technical assistance be closely correlated with similar efforts on the part of the United Nations, has insisted that collective security arrangements in which we enter be consistent with the UN Charter.

To be sure, the United Nations is an imperfect instrument, and its advance has been slow. Yet it appears to be our present best hope for peace.

### **The UN and Missions**

It is not far from the truth to say that the United Nations embodies much of the purpose and spirit of the Christian missionary enterprise. In many parts of the world, for example, UN representatives and missionaries work together. United Nations programs in the fields of health and education are often designed to supplement mission projects. UNICEF constantly uses mission stations and leaders—in the Near East and elsewhere. When

FAO and UNESCO workers entered a new field in West Africa, they sought the help of missionaries and native Christian leaders. In less-developed regions around the world, mission stations are bridgeheads for significant programs of UN Technical Assistance.

It is no wonder that many dedicated young people, for whom the mission boards of our leading denominations have at present few openings for foreign service, are turning to the United Nations and its agencies.

### **The Minute Women**

Our Church is not unaware of the massive assault against the United Nations now in progress—the hate campaign that has been sweeping across America in waves of reckless, misleading, unfounded charges. Its purpose is to sow seeds of suspicion and mistrust. Its goal is to get the U.S. out of the UN and the UN out of the U.S. It originates with a small group of small organizations with histories of extreme isolationism and racial hatemongering.

One of the leading hate groups is the Minute Women of the U.S.A.—the most articulate and active of the many women's movements in the extreme nationalist fold. The energetic leader is Mrs. Suzanne Stevenson, who helped to organize the group in 1949 in Connecticut. An illuminating study of the work of the

*(Continued on page 29)*



# Recipe for Peace

By **GEORGIANNA FALES MITCHELL**, *Director, Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Foundation*

**W**ITH democracy under pressure from the Right and from the Left, from within and from without, all Christian citizens have a special responsibility to face the complex problems confronting the United States as a chief partner in the United Nations and leader of the free world. Democratic principles and Christian principles are so closely interrelated that no group has a greater stake in the preservation of democracy at home and abroad than those whose religion dedicates them to the concepts of the worth of each individual and the brotherhood of man. Christianity's emphasis on peace has given the Church a deep interest in the prevention of wars.

However, the day is past when the churches could rest content with eloquent eulogies to peace, vehement denunciations of the futility of war, and resolutions renouncing the use of force. Each year larger numbers of churches are working actively to find solutions to the world-wide economic tensions and the social and racial inequalities that promote war. This spring there are several issues of special concern to which church people will want to give attention.

## **The New Look and Our Allies**

President Eisenhower has announced a new defense policy which would relieve some of the strain on the Federal budget by putting less emphasis on man power and more emphasis on air power and modern weapons, such as our great stock of atomic devices. Secretary of State Dulles has stated that we will depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing. In less diplomatic language this means we will hit an aggressor hard and fast where it will hurt the most. This would involve the risk of an immediate counterthrust by the aggressor at the centers of U. S. population.

Other nations co-operating with us in collective security agreements also have a vital stake in such a policy, as they might well be subject to any resulting retaliation. The long-range risks involved in this new policy must be weighed against the present precarious position in which we and our treaty partners find ourselves, with the United Nations maintaining an uneasy truce in Korea while the Communists intensify their attack on Indo-China and Germany remains

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divided. The problems involved in national defense are clear illustrations of the interdependence of the nations of the modern world. Each year as communications become swifter and weapons more destructive, they are increasingly dependent upon each other for protection against attack.

The United Nations Charter has established the principle of collective security to prevent aggression by providing a preponderance of force on the side of law and order. The dogged resistance to aggression in Korea has shown that there is a will to defend this principle.

Many Americans show little understanding of the collective defense structure which is being so painfully erected through the United Nations and the regional arrangements within the framework of the United Nations Charter. Much wider comprehension is needed of the objectives of the United Nations collective security system, which includes not only the provision of force to stop aggression but also the control of arms and the perfecting of methods for settling disputes peacefully.

Our national defense policies must now be weighed in the light of our international obligations and their effect on the nations allied with us to stop aggression.

### **Pull Down the Fences**

Vital decisions are also impending concerning our foreign economic

policy. The last great war left the world's economy in a state of prostration and heavily dependent on the United States, which survived with its productive capacity not only intact but enhanced. Since the last World War the United States has given the world much wise leadership. Congress has appropriated billions of dollars through the Marshall Plan and other programs for reconstruction, with gratifying results.

The free world's productive capacity is largely rebuilt, world trade restored, and foreign assistance steadily decreasing. Yet grave problems jeopardize these gains. Foremost among these are the imbalance in world trade and the companion problems of the dollar shortage, blocked currencies, and trade quotas. Our trade policies are a basic factor in these difficulties. Since the war our grants of military and economic assistance have filled the dollar gap created by our excess of exports over imports. This policy, costly to the taxpayers, was only practical as an emergency measure. There is great need for changes in our trade policy.

In four years eight major reports have been presented to the nation concerning foreign economic policy made by a galaxy of leaders ranging from captains of industry and university presidents to Congressmen, both Republican and Democratic. All these reports have come to the same general conclusion in advocating a freer trade policy for the

United States. The Randall Commission, appointed jointly by the President, the Senate, and the House, is the most recent to report. President Eisenhower will use its recommendations as a basis for his proposals to Congress for legislation in this field. This report, like its predecessors, advocates a reduction in U.S. tariffs and various other trade barriers, measures to expand investments overseas, and support for military aid as well as technical assistance programs.

When the experts examine the present-day world economic situation and judge it in terms of the welfare of the nation as a whole, they reach agreement on a liberal trade policy. In Congress the yardsticks are different. Congressmen naturally think in terms of the special interests of the pressure groups in their districts, or the traditional political prejudices of their party. They reflect public opinion, which in the United States has been traditionally export-minded rather than import-minded. Recent surveys, such as the ones of Representative Simpson's district in Pennsylvania and Representative Merrill's district in Indiana, show that public opinion is out of date in this respect. Each of these studies shows that a high protective tariff would hurt these districts more than it would help.

Church social action groups can fulfill a real service to world peace if they can throw light on these trade

questions, examining them from the standpoint of the good of the nation as a whole, the need for imports as well as exports, and the nation's stake in maintaining a prosperous world economy.

### **Sharing Our Know-how**

Technical assistance to help the underdeveloped countries to meet their human needs has become a vital part of foreign policy. The Church has been quick to recognize it as a great moral force which translates religious idealism into practical humanitarian action. Men of all creeds and colors are helped to free themselves from ignorance, poverty, and disease. This is long-range planning for a peaceful world.

At present, when Government economy is considered desirable at almost any cost, there is pressure to cut all programs that cannot be justified on military grounds. This is short-sighted. The entire cost of the technical assistance program for one year is less than the cost of equipping and maintaining one U.S. division. Weapons alone do not cure social disorders or counteract totalitarian ideologies.

The churches need to stand firm in support of adequate appropriations for both the United States and the United Nations technical assistance programs. They must be watchdogs to see that technical assistance remains dedicated to its original

long-range objectives and does not lose its moral impact by diversion into channels designed to serve immediate military objectives.

### **Domestic Policies and Foreign Relations**

Most of our national policies, even those which appear purely domestic in nature, affect our foreign policy. An inflexible farm-price support program which holds domestic prices above world levels creates Government-owned surpluses which in turn lead to import quotas, to export subsidies, or dumping, all of which affects other nations.

Racial discrimination in the United States is the most convincing propaganda weapon exploited by the Communists. The vast majority of human beings are colored and have a sense of personal involvement and resentment when they hear that white Americans refuse to go to the same hotels or schools with people of another color.

### **The Church's Part**

The Church has an active role in international relations. There are countless ways that members can cooperate to help to build a more peaceful world.

Each year there are several interdenominational observances that

deepen our sense of responsibility to promote international co-operation. We have World Day of Prayer and World Communion Sunday. Each fall church women observe World Community Day to emphasize the Church's role in bringing peace to a troubled world. The Presbyterian General Council has recently described the United Nations as standing between us and war. United Nations Day, October 24, observed around the world, is a fine focal point for the continuing educational work needed to strengthen the United Nations. The missionary and overseas activities of the Church are technical assistance projects which are in much need of better financial and moral support.

Perhaps the most important impact of the Church in the field of international relations comes when its members apply their Christianity to their citizenship, using church forums, women's association meetings and circle discussions to face public issues. The Church is itself a cross section of America. It is made up of young and old, rural and urban, and people of all racial and income backgrounds. How church people think and act about national defense, tariffs, or race relations is a vital force in tipping the scales between war and peace.

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# We Have a Colored Neighbor

By REGINALD A. JOHNSON, *Director, Department of Housing Activities, National Urban League*

We have a colored neighbor. What should we do? Should we protest the entrance of this family into our neighborhood? Should we sell our property and move? Should we ignore them? Should we insult them and make them uncomfortable? Or should we regard them as we do all our other neighbors and go about our daily affairs as usual?

Why do we have these thoughts? Are these people undesirable, objectionable, or criminals? Do we really know what kind of people they are? Do they act, live, and conduct themselves any differently from our other neighbors? Or are they ordinary people, like the rest of us, who work regularly, have a family about which we are concerned, and have a desire to have a pleasant, clean home in a nice neighborhood?

Will their presence in our neighborhood make its living and desirability any different? Will the value of our property decrease? Or will life go on as usual and their presence as a race be forgotten.

THESE and many other questions cross the minds of some people when they have a new neighbor whose way of life is little known to them. They have a stereotyped concept of Negro life and of Negroes, and all Negroes are henceforth judged by this stereotype.

This concept of Negro life began many years ago when there was slavery in this country. Some Negroes and many whites were indentured servants. Most Negroes were chattel to be bought and sold at will. They were fed, clothed, and housed under circumstances that caused many of them to be ragged, unkempt, ill-housed and irresponsible. What there was of their lives was planned for them. They were permitted little or no education. They

worked when and where they were told to work. We have read stories and seen pictures of their "happy-go-lucky" lives, the hovels in which they lived, with the children running around the doorway, singing and dancing without a care in this world. But few know that they were not all this way. Some secured an education; some learned trades and became quite proficient as craftsmen. Many improved their homes and had acceptable, clean, desirable living quarters and ways of life quite different from the usually understood concept. Some bought their freedom and led lives of their own much more desirable than was permitted under slavery.

**To a large extent,** most Negroes are judged by such stereotyped im-

pressions and are treated collectively through this method of classification. There are many who know that these impressions are neither typical nor average, but want to confine their concept of Negroes to the lowest category of economic, social, and mental life.

There are as many different income groups, standards of living, and modes of community living among Negroes as exist among other racial groups. Their demands for an opportunity to live and work under a decent and wholesome environment are no different from those of other good American citizens. There has been a sharp increase in their income, but because the opportunity of selecting and living where they wish is to a large extent denied them, many are forced to seek shelter in the older and deteriorated sections of our cities. In some cities they live in dwellings too large for their income, which in turn prohibits adequate care of the property. Frequently, these larger dwellings are divided into smaller living units, or rented to roomers in order to pay the rent. This is an experience faced by all racial groups that do not have sufficient adequate shelter available that is tailored to their economic needs.

Most of the new construction in America has been denied to Negro occupancy. This has necessitated continued living in older and less desirable housing and neighbor-

hoods in a community, and hence the label that Negroes deteriorate property. In many instances the houses were old and deteriorated when they moved into the area. Strangely enough, the many well-kept homes and neighborhoods occupied by Negroes in these areas are overlooked.

On the other hand, there is a sizable number of Negroes who have escaped from ghetto living. They live in houses and apartments that are suitable to their income and living needs. In scores of cities throughout the nation, they live among white neighbors of similar income and living needs. In most instances their race is forgotten about because of the similarity of their living and neighborhood behavior to that of other neighbors.

**In New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Buffalo, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and many other northern and western cities, Negroes and whites live side by side in apartment buildings and houses. They live in well-kept houses and neighborhoods without conflict, embarrassment, or inconvenience. Their homes and neighborhoods remain well-kept and acceptable living areas. Property values continue to be stable. Negroes are good neighbors. Their appearance in a neighborhood should not be a cause for alarm because of their color and race. They should be judged on the**

type of people they are rather than on their race.

**In the Midwest,** a well-to-do colored engineer purchased a comfortable home in a better than average neighborhood. There was immediate protest from the neighbors. They feared that his presence would depress their property values. He refused to move in spite of efforts to force him to do so. He improved his property and made the house and spacious grounds attractive and desirable. The same neighbors who protested frequently visited and asked for permission to show their friends his beautiful home. One day the original leader of the protest movement asked his assistance in securing a mortgage at a local bank. The bank had insisted that it would grant the mortgage if approved by the colored engineer. When the neighbor was asked why he had led a protest movement against him, the answer was: "I just didn't know and understand. I'm sorry and ashamed of my part in the mess."

On the West Coast a white woman moved into a low-rent apartment next door to a colored family. She immediately protested and was assured that she would be given the first opportunity to move into another part of the project when space was available. In the meantime, an automobile ran over her small child. The colored neighbor called the doctor and ambulance, and comforted

the child and mother until they arrived. As a result of this neighborly act, the life of the child was saved. Later the project management offered her another apartment. She refused it and told them she was quite happy and satisfied with her present neighbors.

There have been a number of instances of unscrupulous real estate operators who have exploited, for their selfish advantage, the need of Negroes for decent housing and the uninformed prejudices of people toward racial groups. These operators frequently secure property for sale by telling the owner that Negroes are moving into the neighborhood and if he doesn't sell, his property will lose its value. If the owner gets disturbed over this information, he hurriedly sells at a price below its worth in order to save as much of his equity as possible. The real estate operator has thus acquired property at a reduced rate. He boosts the price beyond its real worth and sells it at the higher rate to a house-hungry Negro family. He has exploited for his own gain the prejudices of one group against another.

A group of colored and white neighbors in an eastern Pennsylvania city objected to the efforts of real estate operators to stimulate "panic" property selling because of the presence of Negroes in the neighborhood. They wrote their neighbors, told them they liked their neighborhood, they were not mov-

ing, their property values had increased, and they urged them to display a sign on their property, "This house is not for sale."

**We are frequently asked,** "Why nonsegregated housing?" "Negroes want to live together. They are happier with their own." It is true there are some Negroes who would prefer ghetto living, but the great majority of the Negro population live in a racial ghetto only because they can't live elsewhere in a place of their own choosing. They wish to avoid racial area living for many reasons:

- Racially designated housing usually gives less value and service per dollar than nonracial housing.

- Racial concentrations are usually in the older structures of a city and are frequently exploited by owners not living in the area, who fail to apply good maintenance standards.

- Municipally maintained services in the congested and/or racially designated areas are usually neglected. This includes the various buildings, health and safety inspection services, inadequate police protection, old and crowded school buildings, haphazard garbage collection and street cleaning, and crowded traffic arteries.

- Racial concentrations acquire the status of a racially designated area and subsequently are isolated from the political and economic life of a community.

- Racially designated areas are subjected to types of exploitation that do not exist in other areas.

- Negroes as well as other people do not want to be told where they must live.

We have been frequently told that when a new development is opened to Negroes, they rush in and soon make it predominantly all Negro. As long as there is restriction on the housing supply and the areas one may live in, there will be a rush to the few places that are available. The more areas and places that are open, the less will be the concentrations. Restrictions put a premium on what is denied. Isolation breeds suspicion and leads to hatred and overt acts that result in pressure and conflict. The Presbyterian Church recognized this when it adopted a policy of a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society.

We have a colored neighbor. We regard this family as we do all our other neighbors and go about our daily affairs as usual. This family stands on its merit and will not be judged by some stereotyped concept of a Negro family. Life will go on as usual and their presence as Negroes will soon be forgotten because they are ordinary people like the rest of my neighbors. They work regularly, have a family about whom they are concerned, and have a desire like the rest of us to have a pleasant, clean home in a nice neighborhood.



# Sanctuary

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**"YE SHALL BE WITNESSES UNTO ME."—ACTS 1:8**

## **Meditation:**

So spoke our Lord to those early apostles. And so he speaks to those who love and follow him today. Clearly and pointedly, he says to each of them, "Ye shall witness unto me."

Many words that had a special meaning for the early Christians, through misuse and abuse, have completely lost the wonder of their real meaning today. Such words as "love," "charity," and "witness" have been used so loosely in this modern day that the true meaning, as Christ used them, is almost lost. And so some retiring Christians say, "I just can't witness for Christ." To them witnessing is often related to some "street corner" testimonial experience. But whether we realize it or not, any follower of Christ makes his witness every day and in every situation confronting him.

**We witness in our homes and family relationships.** In the love and understanding and forbearance we have for other members of the family, we witness to our belief in the dignity of every man. When we say grace before meals and gather

the busy family together for a song fest and for a time of quiet devotion, we witness to our dependency on God and our belief in the fact that God is head of our household. We witness to our concern for our fellow man in all parts of the world when we discipline ourselves as a family group to do without so that others may have food, clothing, shelter, love, and understanding.

**We witness to our belief in our oneness in Christ** (John 17:11) by our love for people of all races right in our town and on our own street, just as much as by the sending of food and clothing and teachers and doctors and ministers to Africa, Japan, Korea, or India. It's much easier to eat a sacrificial meal and send the money we save to people in need than it is to be considerate and loving to the Negro or Chinese or Italian who lives right in our own block. We witness to our belief in the principle of "oneness in Christ" by our treatment of the maid who works in our home, by our treatment of the laundryman, or the bootblack who shines our shoes. And that witness speaks louder than any words we might

say. Do we really believe that "there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him"? By our actions we witness to that fact.

**We witness through our business dealings.** Do we really believe that "honesty is the best policy," and do we run our business strictly according to Christian standards of honesty and integrity? We witness through our absolute honesty; through our consideration for the clerk who helps us; and through our cheerfulness and good nature in every transaction.

**We witness to our belief in the holiness of God's house** every time we enter his house. "The Lord is in his holy temple: let all the earth keep silence before him." This we say over and over again. We teach the meaning of it to the boys and girls in our church school classes, and then we enter the temple and chatter with the friends around us. Our witness speaks louder than our words. We witness to our belief in the holiness of God's house by our treatment of the equipment therein, and by the orderliness of his house. And we witness to the joy we have in serving Christ by coming into his house "with gladness."

**We witness in our social life.** Christianity is a happy and joyful

religion, and if we truly love Christ, we witness unto him just as surely at a party or social gathering as we do in the house of the Lord. We don't have to be "spoilsports" because we are Christians. It is certainly true that as Christians we will not be found in certain places of amusement, but it is just as true that because we are Christians we will have no desire to frequent those places. We can have a wonderful time without the cocktail, or the risqué story, and enjoy life to the fullest. We are doing a disservice to our Lord, and are certainly a false witness, if we are so sanctimonious that we can't have a good time ourselves, and won't allow others to enjoy themselves.

**We witness unto Christ in our reaction to adversity.** "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want." "Lo, I am with you alway." "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help." "God is our refuge and strength." If we really believe these promises, and know that God is ever present, that he is our strength, we won't "crack up" when trouble or sorrow comes. But we will be strong in the Lord who understands our sorrow and our physical weakness. Our faith will never falter, but will remain steadfast. What utter desolation must come to one who has just parted from a loved one, if there is no belief in God and eternity! And

what joy to the heart of a Christian at the sure knowledge that with God all things are eternal!

**We witness unto the Lord by our attitude toward responsibility.** Mrs. Paul Moser recently expressed this thought in a meditation: "God never gives us a task to do, except he gives us the strength to do it." How often the response to a request for service is, "I can't do it"! And surely the individual alone cannot do it. But with God as our partner, we can do amazing things. Paul said, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." The Christian today can say the same thing. Miraculous things have happened when God has stepped in, using individuals who were witnessing for him, to accomplish his work. What can we do about the slums in our town: about delinquency; about crooked politics? The Christian witnesses unto his Lord by his response to these questions. With a true concern, and an earnest desire to right wrongs in his community, and trusting in God for strength, he will enlist others, and good will triumph.

Over the approach to many college campuses is this inscription: "Ye shall know the truth, and the

truth shall make you free." (John 8:32.) But that isn't what Jesus actually says at all. He says, "If ye continue in my word, then . . . ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Today, when truth is being bandied about so irresponsibly, Christians are witnessing unto their Lord every day by their refusal to accept as truth those things which are not based on God's Word. We witness by our refusal to condemn men because of rumors and unfounded suspicion. And we will truly witness for our Lord when we rise up as one in indignation against the abuse of men who have captured from us the word "truth," and given it a wholly false meaning. We shall be free when truth is once again founded in God's word, and we witness to the freedom that is ours as his disciples.

### **Prayer:**

"Ye shall be witnesses unto me."

O Lord God, in whom lies our strength, give us the courage to be bold in our speech and in our actions, as we witness for thee. Amen.

*—Prepared by Elizabeth H. Buchanan, New Philadelphia, Ohio; president, National Council of Presbyterian Women's Organizations*

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Liberty is one of the most precious of human rights bestowed by God upon his children. We affirm our belief in freedom as set forth in the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights as interpreted by the Supreme Court.

*—General Assembly, 1953*

# POINTS FOR



# PREACHERS

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## IT DOES MATTER

"But the *people* of Israel broke faith in regard to the devoted things; for Achan . . . took some of the devoted things; and the anger of the Lord burned against *the people of Israel.*"

The story of Achan in the seventh chapter of Joshua is one of those bizarre episodes in the Old Testament which are embarrassing to the delicate tastes of people who expect only sweetness and light from the Bible. But if you don't try to make your sermon too much of a theodicy, you'll find a golden thread woven into the fabric of primitive barbarism in this story of Achan.

### I. Introduction

In all ages God has been willing to give his people as much of his truth as they are able to receive, but he has adapted this truth to the customs, habits, and modes of thinking of the times in which it is revealed.

Paul speaks of the treasure of the gospel as being borne in "earthen vessels," implying that the treasure ought not to be confused with the human vehicle which transmits it.

(So much for justifying the ways of God to men.)

### II. Historical and Biblical Background *(See a good commentary)*

The ancient prevailing custom of putting the inhabitants of a conquered city to the sword and of "dooming" (or "devoting") the spoils of battle to the victorious deity was cruel and barbarous. But it was neater and simpler than making a defeated nation a pawn to maintain the balance of power in international politics, and using their land as military bases, meanwhile trying to find moral grounds for justifying the actions.

### III. Theme

The whole community of Israel sinned (*and suffered*) in the sin of one member of the community, Achan.

The incident begins, "But the people of Israel broke faith. . . ." Yet, actually only Achan stole from the "devoted" spoils. And the whole nation suffered under the judgment of God.

This is in keeping with one of



the dominant themes of the Bible—the theme of community, the refusal to think of an individual person in isolation from the community of which he is a member. Not that he has no value as an individual, but rather that he cannot act in a vacuum without affecting the lives of others.

Paul uses this same concept of community in the New Testament and applies it to the New Israel, the Church, the Body of Christ: "We are members one of another."

#### IV. Application

A. In history—It was profoundly "our business" when Japan marched into Manchuria in 1931, when Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, Korea, 1950.

B. In economics—If I have an automobile accident, it affects the insurance premium you pay next year. More important, injustice anywhere means that justice is imperiled everywhere.

C. In politics—If I don't take part, I throw my weight in effect behind the strongest faction.

D. Et cetera—Fill in your own examples in the field of moral example, church life, family life, and so on.

#### V. Denouement

Figuratively speaking, the word I say in my own back yard is heard round the world; the lifting of my finger pulls strings tied to the lives

of people I will never see in this world. Every good thing I do or fail to do either adds to or subtracts from the sum total of goodness available in the universe—it affects the moral climate in which we live. Each one of us is an Achan, and the whole nation of Israel (*the Church, the world*) suffers for our sins of commission and omission. The concept of community, far from detracting from the importance of the individual person, actually enhances it.

Quote John Donne—"No man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe . . . . Never send to know for whom the *bell* tolls; It tolls for *thee*."

Or William James—"The very existence of an invisible world may . . . , it seems to me, in part depend on the personal response which each one of us makes. . . . If this life be not a real fight in which something is eternally gained by (*goodness*), it is no better than a game of private theatricals from which one may withdraw at will. But it feels like a real fight, as though there were something really wild in the universe, which we need to redeem, and first of all to redeem our own hearts." See also "A Litany for Modern Man," by Norman Cousins, on the back cover of the February issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

What a wonderful and terrible load of responsibility to carry!

It Does Matter (*which might be the title of this sermon*).

—H. B. Sissel

# Christian ACTION

## ★ *Citizenship* ★

SUBMERGED under a barrage of charges and countercharges arising from Congressional investigative ramifications, the Administration's legislative program was falling behind schedule, at press time. With the target date for adjournment set as July 31, leaders in Congress are privately replanning the program of "must" legislation for this session. On the record, however, they still maintain optimism over the enactment of a major portion of the announced program.

### **Congressional Investigations**

—As we go to press, a House Rules subcommittee, headed by Rep. Hugh Scott (R., Pa.), has just completed a series of lengthy hearings on a study of investigative procedures. A report from this group, making recommendations for a revision of the rules to improve the conduct of committee investigations, is expected momentarily. Chairman Scott has personally proposed a rather extensive amendment looking toward this end. His proposal sets out detailed rights of witnesses, tightens rules of committee procedure, provides that the House Rules Committee act as arbiter

of "all questions of jurisdiction, order, decorum, or right," and authorizes that the House itself could order "censure" or "punishment."

Early in March, the Senate Republican Policy Committee "suggested" a code for conducting committee investigations, but included no provisions for enforcement. The general tenor of the code was to provide for full committee or subcommittee action in initiating or carrying on investigations and seemed to be aimed at eliminating one-man operations. It also included certain protection or rights for witnesses called before committees.

There is another proposal which is receiving rather favorable attention by both Houses, at press time. It is the suggestion that a joint committee, composed of members from both the Senate and House, be set up to handle all investigations related to subversive activities. This would eliminate the House Un-American Activities Committee and would deprive several Senate committees of any jurisdiction in this field.

On both sides of the Capitol, however, there is general agreement that

rules alone can never fully change investigative tactics. Great power is vested in committee chairmanships and the members as a whole are jealous guardians of these prerogatives.

**F.E.P.C.**—After a series of public hearings the Senate Labor Committee has approved a bill (S. 692) to ban racial and religious discrimination in employment. There appears little chance that the measure will be enacted by the Senate.

Sponsored by Senator Ives (R., N. Y.) and several other Senators, the bill would create a seven-member Federal commission to enforce its ban on discrimination. The legislation puts a premium upon voluntary methods, but could take action if these fail. However, penalties could be employed only against unions or employers with 50 or more members or workers.

Though Secretary of Labor Mitchell testified in favor of the bill, President Eisenhower, in a recent press conference, reiterated his opposition to compulsory Federal action in this field, saying it could best be handled by the states. The President stated that there were certain areas that the Federal Government should not enter with compulsory or punitive law, that it should resort to such steps to eliminate discrimination only in areas directly within Federal supervision, such as the armed services.

#### **Immigration Law Change—**

Early in March, Attorney General Brownell asked Congress to amend the immigration laws to permit ju-

dicial review of deportation orders. This has never been provided in our statutes, the only remedy in such cases being in habeas corpus proceedings after aliens ordered deported had been taken into custody.

In a letter accompanying the bill, which the Attorney General asked be introduced in both Houses, he wrote, "An alien should be able to obtain judicial review of an order for his deportation as soon as it has been issued without waiting until he has been taken into custody."

The bill as drafted by the Justice Department, according to Mr. Brownell, "would restate the principle that a person subject to a final order of deportation who makes a substantial claim that he is a national of the United States is entitled to an independent judicial determination of such claim."

#### **Wire Tapping Legislation—**

As we go to press, the House Judiciary Committee is working on a bill that will embody the Administration's request for formal wire tap authorization.

Bills introduced by Rep. Keating (R., N. Y.) and others would require approval of proposed wire taps by a Federal judge. Attorney General Brownell, it is understood, is agreeable to this provision with regard to kidnaping, gambling cases, and the like, but wishes to retain authority himself to authorize it in cases involving suspected treason and subversion.

—*Helen Lineweaver,*  
*Washington Office*

## OUR CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY IN WORLD AFFAIRS (Continued from page 13)

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Minute Women has been made by *The Houston Post* (Texas) with which Mrs. Hobby and her husband are connected. Only a few days ago the Attorney General placed on his list of un-American organizations a subsidiary group, Massachusetts Minute Women.

Another of the leading hate organizations is the American Flag Committee, with headquarters in Philadelphia. It is the successor of the Nationalist Action League, which was listed as an un-American Fascist organization by the Attorney General in 1950. The founder and leader of both groups is W. Henry MacFarland, who is responsible for some of the most amazing distortions of fact now current in the anti-UN campaign.

Other groups active in the hate campaign against the United Nations are the National Economic Council, of which Merwin K. Hart is president; the Constitutional Educational League, headed by Joseph Kamp; the notorious National Council for American Education, led by Allen Zoll; and the Liberty Belles, directed by Vivien Kellems, a co-founder of the Minute Women, who broke away from that group because of a clash with Mrs. Stevenson.

These are some of the organizations that create confusion because their noise is out of all proportion to their numbers. Against them the last

General Assembly warned our churches. After all, more than 90,000,000 Americans belong to groups actively supporting the United Nations.

It would seem to be our Christian duty to encourage the United Nations in its efforts to build a peaceful world and to improve the lives of people everywhere, to encourage our Government in making the UN a major cornerstone of American foreign policy, to encourage our citizens in giving the United Nations their confidence and support.

### The Christian Perspective

Someone has said that a true Christian is a person who sees the world through the eyes of Christ.

The trouble is that many people in our churches reflect not the mind of Christ but the mind of their daily newspapers, their weekly news magazines, their favorite commentators and columnists, their political parties. They pay little attention to what the Church may say about the issues of public life. Their Christian faith has only the vaguest bearing upon their social attitudes and political choices.

Let us strive always to see world affairs in a Christian perspective, to size up issues in terms of Christian goals and values, to apply solutions that are permeated with Christian spirit and purpose.



# About Books

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**Asian Nationalism and the West**, edited by William L. Holland. The Macmillan Company. 449 pp. \$5.00.

**The Choice Before South Africa**, by E. S. Sachs. Philosophical Library, Inc. 220 pp. \$5.75.

**Free India in Asia**, by Werner Levi. University of Minnesota Press. 161 pp. \$2.75.

Nationalism in the Far East is recognized as one of the mightiest forces of modern times. These three books furnish excellent source material for the student who seeks to know the meaning of current movements in Asia and Africa. In his book, Mr. Holland has edited a large amount of material from the Lucknow Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. This non-partisan and entirely unofficial organization seems to be fairly representative of world opinion.

A large section of Mr. Holland's book provides concrete illustration of Far Eastern problems by introducing three extensive sections dealing with colonial areas at different stages of social and political growth.

Malaya, a British colony; Vietnam, a former French colony; and Indonesia, with Dutch history, are described in impressive detail for a book of this size. The total effect upon this reviewer is the sense of the overwhelming immensity of the Asian problem along with some real optimism about the future. The Far East is still far from becoming Communist, and the Communism which is there is very different from Russian expansionism.

Mr. Levi insists that there is little cause for the fears of so many Westerners that there is an unbridgeable gulf between East and West. This view is also shared by Mr. Holland. Neither book is depressing in its outlook. Asian solidarity is seen to have little present reality. Asians are held together mainly by their common fear of colonialism and the power of the West, along with the aspirations of the masses for freedom and their need for bread. Russian Communism has appealed to India chiefly as the phenomenal rise of a country within one generation from a position of backwardness to that of being one of the most powerful nations of the world. But Indians are deeply troubled by

the political manifestations of Communism in the totalitarian state with its ruthless militarism. The hope of eliminating Western imperialism by a united effort is the chief foundation of the solidarity that does exist in Asia.

Mr. Sachs is a "controversial figure." As a top leader of labor in South Africa, his book is specifically directed to the people of South Africa. It is a crusading volume, violently critical of Western domination of the present political situation. "Three years of nationalist rule have changed the whole picture. Fear and hatred stalk the land." Hate is everywhere and everybody is involved, both Europeans and Africans. Mr. Sachs insists that *apartheid* means for native people a complete denial of basic rights, education, and vocational training; and that it results in poverty, violence, terror, and slavery. He declares that the task of every true patriot is to remove the present nationalist Government. He believes that South Africa must either succeed in such a revolution, or it will become very soon a nation of "poor whites and starving blacks."

These three books supplement each other and provide thrilling reading. Because of their differences in approach and purpose each makes a contribution of outstanding value for the student of Old World affairs.

—Herbert N. Brockway

**Big Business: A New Era**, by David E. Lilienthal. Harper & Brothers. 209 pp. Indexed. \$2.75.

Mr. Lilienthal, former head of the TVA and the Atomic Energy Commission, has been known as a progressive in the fields of politics and economics. This book is both a defense of bigness in business and a plea for it. The author recognizes that big business has been under a cloud of suspicion since the days of the robber barons, but argues that times have changed, and that business morals have changed too. The new era finds bigness in business not only a virtue but a necessity. The virtue of bigness in business lies in its productive superiority. The necessity for it lies in the fact that America has grown big and a big America requires bigness in business as a necessary counterpart.

Mr. Lilienthal is an able and fair-minded man. He dodges no issues or arguments. He reviews some of the salient facts of big business in our past history and admits some of the sins committed, but insists these sins are not inherent in bigness as such. On the contrary, bigness, he insists, actually promotes healthy competition rather than stifles it. Its superior productiveness is a virtue surpassing all other virtues, and without superior productiveness, America cannot be big or great.

Mr. Lilienthal's main concern, it seems, is that the law, as the courts

now interpret it, obstructs and hinders bigness in business. He pleads for a revision of such laws as the Sherman and Clayton anti-trust laws, and for a changed attitude toward bigness on the part of the lawmakers and the general public. He believes bigness ought to be encouraged by favorable legislation and the good will of an appreciative public.

The reviewer lives in a small Midwest town where Main Street has become Chain Street during the new era, and where several small industries employing from 75 to 500 workers have been absorbed into large corporations. In these changes he believes a priceless ingredient has been lost. Human values have suffered severe losses, despite union efforts to protect and preserve them. Indeed, human values have suffered because of the bigness of unions. We are not convinced that the Kingdom of God comes through bigness or that "superior productiveness" is the end and aim of superior living. The parable of the Mustard Seed has its point even in this new era.

The book is very much worth reading, and we found it interesting and enlightening, but it seemed to us that the author substituted white-wash for good paint in some of his pictures and we yawned on occasion at what struck us as flights into wishful thinking.

—John R. Williams

**Passage in the Night**, by Sholem Asch. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 367 pp. \$3.75.

Today success is measured by the accumulation of wealth and entree to the ranks of those who thereby generously support humanitarian organizations, who achieve social and political leadership, are trusted because of their business acumen, and who belong to approved institutions—not excluding membership in the popularly approved churches or temples.

Sholem Asch relates the ruthless achievement of such success. Isaac Grossman as well as leaving behind him the poverty of tenements and the labor of sweatshops also neglects the fervent religious faith of his parents and puts nothing in its place. His wife, children, and grandchildren in their own ways find substitutes for this spiritual vacuum or rebuild for themselves a great faith in Judaism. But the main interest in the novel is in the old man whose fear of retribution drives him continually to find a way to right a wrong done to another in his youth, a crime out of all proportion to those committed in a few of his business transactions. Though some of the material used in the final development of the plot seems extraneous, the issue at hand is always kept clear—a man searching for peace and finding it in a new and satisfying conception of God.

—Florence Kindle

SOCIAL PROGRESS

# Our Freedoms Under God

*A Study Guide Based on "A Letter to Presbyterians  
Concerning the Present Situation in Our Country and  
in the World"*

I. The General Council Speaks

II. Present Dangers

III. The Church's Prophetic Role

IV. The Majesty of Truth

V. God's Sovereign Rule

*Social Progress, May, 1954*



# Introduction

The General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. was acting in a prophetic tradition when it issued, in November, 1953, *A Letter to Presbyterians*. The *Letter* is significant because it deals with grave matters before the nation—especially the threatened corrosion of American freedom as a result of our preoccupation with the menace of Communism. It received more attention and aroused more discussion than any action of the Church in twenty years.

This study guide is based on the General Council's communication, but in many ways it goes beyond the *Letter* in facing the fears and dangers of the hour and in pointing out the Church's prophetic role. We offer the guide in the hope that it will stimulate many individuals and groups to a serious study of these matters and to appropriate witness and action. Note the suggestions for the use of the study guide in churches on pages 24 to 26.

We are including with the study several recent Church statements on freedom. They come from nine national religious bodies. The statement from the National Council of Churches deals forthrightly with abuses in the procedures of Congressional investigating committees. Readers will be especially interested in the documents from Jewish and Roman Catholic leaders. All these various communications have much in common and deserve our careful attention.

No social questions are nearer to the central concerns of the Christian faith than those which deal with our freedoms under God.

*Clifford Earle  
Margaret Kuhn  
H. B. Sissel*

*P. S.* In this issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* we depart quite radically from our customary magazine form. We do so with a measure of fear and diffidence. We hope our readers will let us know what they think of this experiment in the handling of a difficult subject.

# I. The General Council Speaks

## Excerpt from *A Letter to Presbyterians*

The General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America is instructed under the Constitution of the Church "to cultivate and promote the spiritual welfare of the whole Church" and "to correspond with and advise the general councils of presbyteries."

Profoundly concerned about the present situation in our country and the world, the Council addresses itself to fellow Presbyterians through the presbyteries and the ministers and officers of the congregations. In doing so it is guided by the historic witness of our Church and the deliverances of successive General Assemblies. The Council hopes that the following statement may help to clarify certain important problems and at the same time initiate a process of thought by which our Church can contribute toward their solution.

The 165th General Assembly made the following pronouncement for the guidance of Presbyterians: "All human life should be lived in accordance with the principles established by God for the life of men and of nations. This is a tenet of Biblical religion. It is also a basic emphasis in our Presbyterian heritage of faith.

"As individuals and as a group, Christians are responsible for adjusting their thought and behavior to those everlasting principles of righteousness which God has revealed in Holy Scripture. It is no less their responsibility as citizens of their nation, to seek as far as their influence may extend, to bring national life and all the institutions of society into conformity with the moral government of God, and into harmony with the spirit of Jesus Christ."

### Purpose

To consider the nature and function of the General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Council's intention in issuing *A Letter to Presbyterians*, the historic witness of the Church in asserting the social relevance of the Christian faith, and the social pronouncements of the General Assembly.

### Comment

**1.** The General Council is one of the most important bodies in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

It is constituted by the General Assembly, the supreme ecclesiastical authority in matters affecting the entire Church. The duties of the General Council, subject to the authority of the General Assembly, include the responsibility of cultivating and promoting "the spiritual welfare of the whole Church." It should be noted that the General Council is a continuing body, meeting frequently during the year, while the General Assembly is convened only once a year. The General Council is not to be regarded, however, as a "little" or "interim" General Assembly.

The Moderator and Stated Clerk of General Assembly serve as Chairman and Secretary of the General Council. The body meets four or five times a year, including an extended meeting at the time of the General Assembly. Much of the General Council's work is done through committees (Administrative, Long Range Planning, Budget and Finance, Public Relations, Stewardship and Promotion, etc.) which meet as required during the year.

2. In keeping with its duty to promote "the spiritual welfare of the whole Church," the General Council on October 21, 1953, approved *A Letter to Presbyterians Concerning the Present Situation in Our Country and in the World*. The *Letter* was subsequently printed and on November 2 was mailed to the churches. On the same day it was also released to the press. It attracted a great deal of attention throughout the country and in many foreign lands. It was published in *Presbyterian Life* on November 14, with the title "This Nation Under God."

The purpose of General Council in issuing the *Letter* is clearly indicated in the *Letter* itself. It should be emphasized that the *Letter* is a communication from the General Council "to fellow Presbyterians through the presbyteries and the ministers and officers of the congregations." The *Letter* is not to be regarded as a social pronouncement; neither is it a

message from the Church to the nation. The *Letter* is intended to initiate "a process of thought" by which our Church, through its members and congregations, can contribute toward a solution of some of the grievous problems facing our nation and the world.

The reason for the *Letter* is further indicated in a statement in *Presbyterian Life* (February 6, 1954) by the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake. The statement appears in the "We've Been Asked" section of the magazine on pages 28-33. In this statement Dr. Blake refers to attacks made in the spring and summer of 1953 on the loyalty and patriotism of many leading Protestant clergymen. An irresponsible article by J. B. Matthews in *American Mercury* (July, 1953) actually named Dr. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, as having subversive leanings and connections. Dr. Mackay was elected Moderator of the 165th General Assembly a few weeks after the article appeared. A dramatic and revealing phase of the attacks on Protestant loyalty was the grueling experience of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church in July, 1953, when he sought a hearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives in order to answer false allegations appearing in the Committee's files.

In September, when the furore had

largely subsided, the General Council discussed the situation and decided that a communication was in order—not a defensive statement elicited by an attack on one of our own leaders, but a positive and forthright exposition of some of the moral issues before our country and the world.

3. Back of the *Letter* is a recognition of the historic witness of the Presbyterian Church in public affairs. It is quite normal for our Church to express a concern about moral and social conditions. Our historic faith affirms the relevancy of religion to everyday life and to all human relations. We have only to recall John Calvin's influence in Geneva, John Knox's influence in Scotland, and John Witherspoon's influence in American public life at the time of the Revolution to know that Christian witness in political affairs is very much a part of our Presbyterian heritage.

4. The deliverances of successive General Assemblies are an eloquent expression of our Church's tradition in the field of social concern.

These pronouncements are the result of an orderly process that begins several months prior to final action in General Assembly. The initial work is done by the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action. This Committee over a period of several months prepares a report which

includes studies and recommendations related to current issues. This report is printed by the Stated Clerk's office and mailed to elected commissioners or delegates in advance of the opening of General Assembly.

In the General Assembly the Counseling Committee's recommendations are referred to a temporary group called the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action. This Committee is composed of twenty-two persons, half elders and half ministers, from the twenty-two electing sections of the General Assembly, with a chairman named by the Moderator. The group spends many hours preparing its report in the form of social deliverances. The Standing Committee wisely bases its work on the Counseling Committee's proposals, but is by no means bound by them. Its report may be, and sometimes is, a largely independent document. The Standing Committee's report is printed and distributed among all commissioners for study. The report is then considered by the entire General Assembly, where it is vigorously debated and usually amended before it is finally adopted.

The General Assembly in its social deliverances seeks to discover the mind of Christ in relation to moral issues. The purpose is not necessarily to express the popular thinking of Presbyterian ministers and church members on these issues, but to "survey the life of man in the light of Christ's teaching and example." The



pronouncements are advisory and ministerial in character. That is, no church member or minister, session or presbytery, is bound by them except to take them seriously. Since they are actions of the General Assembly they do represent the positions of the whole Church and have the moral authority which accompanies counsel given by "so reverend a body."

The *Letter* is based largely on social pronouncements of the 164th and 165th General Assemblies.

### For Study and Discussion

1. Read the statement by Dr. Blake in the February 6 issue of *Presbyterian Life*, particularly the first section of his statement on pages 28 and 29. The names and addresses of the members of the General Council may be found in the Journal of the 165th General Assembly, pages 462 and 463. Is the General Council a proper body to issue a statement such as the *Letter* rather than, say, the Department of Social Education and Action? or the Division of Evangelism? Would a release from the Department of Social Education and Action with selected quotations from General Assembly pronouncements have received as much attention in the nation and in the churches as the *Letter* received? Was the General Council wise in releasing the *Letter* to the press in the way it did?

2. It is estimated that eight hun-

dred communications have been received by officials of our Church concerning the *Letter*. About two thirds or three fourths of the letters received are in strong endorsement of the *Letter*. Does this ratio fairly reflect the "mind of the Church" about the *Letter*?

3. Review social deliverances of the 164th and 165th General Assemblies, found on pages 197-206 of the 1952 General Assembly Journal, and pages 177-187 of the 1953 General Assembly Journal, especially the sections dealing with "Human Rights and Personal Freedom" in the 1952 pronouncements and with "Communism" and "Freedom" in the 1953 pronouncements. Note also the introductory section of the 1953 General Assembly pronouncements. Are these pronouncements an adequate basis for *A Letter to Presbyterians*? To what extent are General Assembly pronouncements to be regarded as the official positions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.? In what way are General Assembly pronouncements on social issues useful for stimulating and directing the thought of church officers and members in regard to public questions?

4. What does it mean to "survey the life of man in the light of Christ's teachings and example"? What are some of the standards by which Christians, in their capacity as citizens, view public affairs and engage in social action?

## II. Present Dangers

### Excerpt from *A Letter to Presbyterians*

Things are happening in our national life and in the international sphere which should give us deep concern. Serious thought needs to be given to the menace of Communism in the world of today and to the undoubted aim on the part of its leaders to subvert the thought and life of the United States. Everlasting vigilance is also needed, and appropriate precautions should be constantly taken, to forestall the insidious intervention of a foreign power in the internal affairs of our country. In this connection Congressional committees, which are an important expression of democracy in action, have rendered some valuable services to the nation.

At the same time the citizens of this country, and those in particular who are Protestant Christians, have reason to take a grave view of . . . the almost exclusive concentration of the American mind upon the problem of the threat of Communism.

Under the plea that the structure of American society is in imminent peril of being shattered by a satanic conspiracy, dangerous developments are taking place in our national life. Favored by an atmosphere of intense disquiet and suspicion, a subtle but potent assault upon basic human rights is now in progress. Some Congressional inquiries have revealed a distinct tendency to become inquisitions. . . . Treason and dissent are being confused. . . . Un-American attitudes toward ideas and books are becoming current. Attacks are being made upon citizens of integrity and social passion which are utterly alien to our democratic tradition. . . .

There is something still more serious. . . . Communism, which is at bottom a secular religious faith of great vitality, is thus being dealt with as an exclusively police problem. As a result of this there is growing up over against Communism a fanatical negativism. Totally devoid of a constructive program of action, this negativism is in danger of leading the American mind into a spiritual vacuum. Our national house, cleansed of one demon, would invite by its very emptiness the entrance of seven others. In the case of a national crisis this emptiness could, in the high-sounding name of security, be occupied with ease by a Fascist tyranny.

#### Purpose

To delineate some of the dangers posed by the threat of Communism in the world and especially by our national preoccupation with the subversive activities of Communists and Communist sympathizers in our country.

#### Comment

1. An occasion for great anxiety in the Western world is the menace of Communism. Our Church has been outspoken in condemning Soviet Communism with its deceiving appeal to human hopes and fears, its ruthless oppression of dissent, its

conspiracy to undermine democratic institutions. The Soviet system is a complete repudiation of our cherished convictions about the dignity of men under God and about their rights and responsibilities in a free society.

The Western nations must meet all aspects of the threat of Soviet power, but with methods consistent with our heritage of political and spiritual freedom.

The 1953 General Assembly pronouncements pointed out that the goals of Soviet Communism are really distortions of valid Christian hopes and doctrines. Communist ideals, such as a classless society and the use of material goods for the benefit of all the people, have their counterparts in familiar Christian teachings. "The deep difference," said the General Assembly, "is that the Russian revolution is completely godless in its philosophy and action and relates man to the state in such a way as to deny the Christian teaching of the essential worth and dignity of human personality." All the more strongly, then, must we affirm the Christian doctrine of man and his worth in the sight of God and make our Christian ideals, of which the goals of Communism are tragic heresies, work in our part of the world.

**2.** We need to be alert today to the subversive activities of Communists in America. The Communist conspiracy is not a fiction. It has

been far more pervasive and dangerous than many of us have ever dreamed. The *Letter* is sharp and clear in pointing up the need for vigilance and appropriate precautions "to forestall the insidious intervention of a foreign power" in our internal affairs.

Both the *Letter* and the pronouncements of the 1953 General Assembly recognize the important service of Congressional committees in resisting the Communist conspiracy. Indeed, Congress needs investigating powers in order to carry out its duties in formulating legislation for the good of the country.

**3.** Many Americans today are concentrating so narrowly upon the menace of the Communist conspiracy that they are losing their perspective. Anti-Communist activities in many parts of the country have taken extreme and sometimes absurd forms.

In California, for example, a recent law requires representatives of churches desiring tax-exempt status for their properties to sign a loyalty oath. Several groups are strongly objecting to this measure as an interference with the churches' freedom and responsibility to pronounce God's judgments upon the affairs of men. One church issued a statement protesting the loyalty oath as "a part of the current hysteria in which some citizens consider it an act of patriotism to be suspicious of the patriotism of others."

The Alabama legislature in September, 1953, adopted a law requiring every book used in the colleges, public schools, and trade schools of the state to bear a label indicating that the author "is or is not a known advocate of Communism or Marxist socialism, is or is not a member or ex-member of the Communist party, and is or is not a member or ex-member of a Communist-front organization." The law evidently applies to all textbooks used in classes, to all library books assigned for reading or reference, to books owned by teachers and pupils whenever such books are used in the schools. The measure is being protested by many responsible educators and newspapers in Alabama.

Our national preoccupation with Communist subversion has given impetus and an aura of respectability to a number of voluntary organizations which for avowedly patriotic reasons seek to suppress liberal movements of all sorts. Among these groups are the American Flag Committee, the American Heritage Protective Committee, the American Council of Christian Laymen, the American Council of Churches, the National Council for American Education, the National Economic Council, the Constitutional Educational League, the Minute Women of the U.S.A., the Liberty Belles, and the Christian Nationalist Crusade. Some of these groups have histories of extreme isolationism and racial hatemongering.

A favorite target is the United Nations which they subject to relentless attack. They create confusion because their noise is out of all proportion to their numbers.

4. The passion to ferret out Communists and Communist sympathizers has led many to confuse dissent with disloyalty, heresy with conspiracy. Our American tradition upholds every man's right to protest against whatever he thinks is wrong in high place or low, so long as his protest is orderly and fair to others. It is his privilege, and sometimes his pleasure, to gripe about anything under the sun, whether it be an umpire's decision or a speech by the President, or a Government policy.

In many quarters today, however, there is a tendency to view with suspicion any person who disagrees with some of the more extreme loyalty measures, or who questions the good sense of the superpatriots who propose them. A well-known script writer, for example, was listed in *Red Channels*, an influential publication purporting to show Communist infiltration in radio and television, for (a) refusing to do a script for a veterans' group on "Communism in the Schools and Churches," and (b) coauthoring a drama, *Horror Bomb Versus Humanity*, which was used in a debate about the hydrogen bomb.

5. The *Letter* and the General Assembly pronouncements of both 1952



and 1953 suggest that some Congressional inquiries into subversive activities have been carried on in such a way as to offend the dignity and deny the civil rights of witnesses. The case of Bishop Oxnam as described in his recent book, *I Protest*, illustrates some of the faults and dangers of certain current procedures. The 1953 General Assembly called upon Congress "to establish uniform rules of procedure for all investigations in which the rights of witnesses shall be specified and protected." The General Assembly went on to say: "We believe that confidential information about persons in the records and files of Congressional committees should not be used or made public in any way until it has been fairly evaluated and classified. A person under investigation should have the right to reply to every charge made against him and to confront his accusers."

### For Study and Discussion

1. The *Letter* refers to Communism as "a secular religious faith of great vitality." This idea has been elaborated by men of such divergent social views as theologian John C. Bennett and news analyst George V. Sokolsky. Yet several sincere critics have attacked the *Letter* for calling Communism a religious faith. What do you think is the basis of this criticism of the *Letter*? What does the *Letter* mean when it calls Communism "a secular religious faith"? Do you think the statement is justified?

2. Note the various Church statements appearing on pages 28-40 of this study guide. All of them are concerned with the danger that basic freedoms will be eroded as a result of our national concentration upon the menace of Communist subversion.

List some of the basic rights and freedoms which, according to the Church statements, are in process of corrosion. Do you think the Church statements are correct in their fears for freedom? Does the present national emergency, which the Government now seems to regard as nearly absolute, require the surrender of certain margins of freedom for the sake of wider security? Does this mean that the Churches should give more attention or less attention to human rights?

3. In an address to the nation on April 5, 1954, President Eisenhower said that the number of Communists in this country is about 25,000 or one Communist for every 6,000 persons. We can assume that the Federal Bureau of Investigation knows who they are and what they are doing. The President gave this information to the American people in order to allay their fears about the size and the peril of the Communist conspiracy in our midst. What are some of the positive things we can do as Christian citizens to forestall the Communist menace and to make democracy strong? What can our churches do?

# III. The Church's Prophetic Role

## Excerpt from *A Letter to Presbyterians*

The Christian Church has a prophetic function to fulfill in every society and in every age. Whatever concerns man and his welfare is a concern of the Church and its ministers. Religion has to do with life in its wholeness. While being patriotically loyal to the country within whose bounds it lives and works, the Church does not derive its authority from the nation but from Jesus Christ. Its supreme and ultimate allegiance is to Christ, its sole Head, and to his Kingdom, and not to any nation or race, to any class or culture. It is, therefore, under obligation to consider the life of man in the light of God's purpose in Christ for the world. While it is not the role of the Christian Church to present blueprints for the organization of society and the conduct of government, the Church owes it to its own members and to men in general, to draw attention to violations of those spiritual bases of human relationship which have been established by God. It has the obligation also to proclaim those principles, and to instill that spirit, which are essential for social health, and which form the indispensable foundation of sound and stable policies in the affairs of state.

### Purpose

To show that the Christian Church has a prophetic role to fulfill "in every society and in every age." To suggest some guiding principles for Christian social action.

### Comment

1. The 1953 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. approved "a Statement of the Reformed Faith in Relation to Social Concern and Action." It was approved also by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. The brief statement includes the following paragraph:

"If we as Presbyterians are loyal to that which is most distinctive in our own religious inheritance, we shall earnestly assert the relevance of our Christian faith to

social relations. We shall survey the life of man in the light of Christ's teaching and example. We shall seek to know and to do the will of God in the concrete situations of everyday life. We shall look to the Church for inspiration, guidance, and support in this endeavor."

Some people in our churches insist that social issues are not the business of the Church, especially when they are the least bit political or controversial. They say that the Church's mission in regard to political matters is merely to tell people to do their duty as citizens, without attempting to set up guideposts. This kind of thinking does not gibe with the Church's prophetic role in society. The Christian Church cannot be neutral in the midst of any issue, however controversial, that affects the moral rights and spiritual well-being of persons.

Our Presbyterian tradition in this matter is very clear. All the great representatives and bearers of that tradition, such leaders as Calvin and Knox and Witherspoon, profoundly believed and supported the social witness of the Christian community. Their own influence in civil affairs was deep and lasting. They did not feel that they were shedding their roles as Christian ministers when they entered the fray of political controversy.

**2.** We affirm the sovereignty of God as the central article of Christian faith. To assert God's sovereignty is to affirm in the next breath every man's duty to give primary allegiance to God. No earthly power has the right to usurp or contravene the divine rule and to claim for itself the allegiance which belongs only to God. Every man must be free to serve God. This means that no Government has the right to compel the thoughts and actions of citizens who, in controversy, must be free to obey God rather than man. To say that God alone is Lord of conscience is to pronounce in one formula God's sovereignty and man's freedom.

The right of a man to be free involves him, of course, in the duty to extend to all the rights and freedoms he claims for himself as a child of God. These rights must be respected *for* all men and *by* all men if God's desire for any man is to be fulfilled. By the fact of universal human sin,

of course, we but dimly see and imperfectly perform God's will. By the same fact of sin we place obstacles in one another's way. Whatever degrades a man, or makes it hard for him to heed the call of Christ, stands under condemnation.

**3.** In asserting the everyday relevance of the Christian faith we are concerned with persons and with everything in the world that affects persons. Right and wrong in social situations and institutions depend on what they do to persons. Whatever sustains and enhances a man's life and affirms his worth as a child of God is right and should be encouraged. Whatever, in any way or to any degree, keeps a man from being all that God wants him to be is wrong and should be rejected by every follower of Christ.

Christian social action is person-centered. In this respect it is related to evangelism. There was a time when we tried to make a wide distinction between these two expressions of practical Christianity. We used to differentiate between personal religion and social religion in such a way that evangelism and social action had very little in common. But when we assert that our concern is primarily with persons, we see that social action and evangelism have a common goal.

We are concerned about race relations because we know what discrimination and prejudice do to persons.

We are concerned about housing because we see what bad housing does to families and children. We are interested in American foreign policy because we know how it affects people in our country and in other lands. It is this emphasis upon persons, this focus upon God's desire for men, that makes social action Christian.

4. It is useful to suggest the things a local church can do in fulfilling its prophetic function under four headings:

a. The church should help its members to be sensitive and alert to the social relevance of the Christian faith. The *minister's sermons* are an important means to this end. On the whole, "concerned" preaching is best when it is not obvious. References to the prophetic application of the gospel in sermons not addressed specifically to social issues are often more effective, and carry the people farther, than occasional homilies on the social responsibilities of Christians. *Instruction for new members* should always include a discussion of the bearing of Christian faith upon everyday affairs. It should be made clear that Presbyterians traditionally have been sensitive and alert in relating religion to every area of life.

b. The church should try to keep its members informed about public issues in which Christians have a stake. This can be done through sermons, literature, the bulletin board, church library, the use of appropri-

ate visual aids in church groups, and church publications. Many churches make wide distribution of General Assembly social pronouncements. The session of a church in the Middle West annually prepares a digest of selected General Assembly pronouncements along with supporting actions of its own and resolutions about local issues. This "social action report" is read from the pulpit and implemented in the church's program.

c. The church may promote the serious study of particular social issues. This goes beyond merely informing church members generally about public questions in which the church is interested. It involves relatively careful and intensive attention to a limited area of Christian concern by a group of interested persons. This can happen in the ongoing program of the church or in study groups especially set up for this purpose. Field trips can be arranged for all who are interested in on-the-scene studies of social issues.

d. The church may help its members to engage in constructive action in which the prophetic function of Christianity is truly and powerfully expressed. This action may grow out of a study of social questions, or it may come in response to an incident or issue which suddenly confronts the church. Often a shocking local situation serves to focus attention, arouse indignation, and demand correction. Or an urgent issue of na-



tional or international character may stimulate prophetic action.

The *Letter* wisely reminds us that "it is not the role of the Christian Church to present blueprints" but to proclaim the principles and instill the spirit "which are essential for social health."

### For Study and Discussion

1. Read the section of the Larger Catechism that deals with the Ten Commandments, Questions 98 through 148. (The Larger Catechism is one of the six basic documents which form the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church. It is part of the basic law of the Church to which all its ordained officers subscribe. The Larger Catechism was prepared originally by the Westminster divines in the seventeenth century as a manual to be used by pastors in the instruction of their people.) Do the answers to these questions suggest a doctrinal basis for Christian social concern and action?

2. What are some of the implications of the Church's prophetic function for (a) Sunday school teachers, (b) church officers, (c) communicants' classes, (d) men's meetings, (e) women's association, (f) youth fellowship? How can your own church do a better job in asserting the social relevance of the Christian faith? Secure a copy of *Social Action in the Local Church* (Presbyterian Distribution Service, 25 cents) and

read especially Chapters III and V.

3. What are some current issues and problems with which churches may be concerned—in world affairs, in economic life, in community relations, in the field of human rights, in racial and cultural relations? Note Chapters I and II of *Social Action in the Local Church*. See also back issues of *Social Progress*.

4. The Church's function in influencing the social order, especially its role in asserting principles and delineating moral issues rather than furnishing blueprints, is ably discussed in Chapter I of *Christianity and Social Order*, by William Temple, and in Chapter V of *Christian Ethics and Social Policy*, by John Bennett. How far do you think the Church should go in supporting or recommending specific proposals—for example, a city ordinance implementing a detailed plan of supervised playgrounds as a measure of combating juvenile delinquency?

5. The *Letter* and the social pronouncements are concerned mostly with national and international issues. The Church's prophetic role applies also to community problems in such fields as housing, public education, discrimination, labor standards. What are some local issues affecting the spiritual well-being of persons about which your church should be concerned?

# IV. The Majesty of Truth

## Excerpt from *A Letter to Presbyterians*

The majesty of truth must be preserved at all times and at all costs. Loyalty to truth is the common basis of true religion and true culture. Despite the lofty idealism of many of our national leaders, truth is being subtly and silently dethroned by prominent public figures from the position it has occupied hitherto in our American tradition. The state of strife known as "cold war," in which our own and other nations, as well as groups within nations, are now engaged, is producing startling phenomena and sinister personalities. In this form of warfare, falsehood is frequently preferred to fact if it can be shown to have greater propaganda value. In the interests of propaganda, truth is deliberately distorted or remains unspoken. The demagogue, who lives by propaganda, is coming into his own on a national scale. According to the new philosophy, if what is true "gives aid and comfort" to our enemies, it must be suppressed. Truth is thus a captive in the land of the free. At the same time, and for the same reason, great words like "love," "peace," "justice," and "mercy," and the ideas which underlie them, are becoming suspect.

Communism, as we know to our sorrow, is committed on principle to a philosophy of lying; democracy, in fighting Communism, is in danger of succumbing, through fear and in the name of expediency, to the selfsame philosophy. It is being assumed, in effect, that, in view of the magnitude of the issues at stake, the end justifies the means. Whatever the outcome of such a war, the moral consequences will be terrifying. People will become accustomed to going through life with no regard for rules or sanctities.

A painful illustration of this development is that men and women should be publicly condemned upon the uncorroborated word of former Communists. Many of these witnesses have done no more, as we know, than transfer their allegiance from one authoritarian system to another. Nothing is easier for people, as contemporary history has shown, than to make the transition from one totalitarianism to another, carrying their basic attitudes along with them. As a matter of fact, the lands that have suffered most from Communism, or that are most menaced by it today, Russia and Italy, for example, are lands which have been traditionally authoritarian in their political or their religious life. And yet the ex-Communists to whose word Congressional committees apparently give unqualified credence are in very many instances people whose basic philosophy authorizes them now, as in the past, to believe that a lie in a good cause is thoroughly justified.

### Purpose

To affirm the majesty of truth and to show how today, in devious and subtle ways, truth is being dethroned.

*May, 1954*

### Comment

1. The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, subscribed to by all its ordained officers, declares "that

no opinion can be either more pernicious or more absurd than that which brings truth and falsehood upon a level, and represents it as of no consequence what a man's opinions are," and "that there is an inseparable connection between faith and practice, truth and duty." (Form of Government, Ch. I, Sec. 4.)

**2.** Here are some of the ways in which truth can be dethroned:

- By trying to protect what is believed to be true from criticism. In the open market of ideas truth is its own best defender. It needs no padding or armor. Untruth will crumble before valid criticism. In the long run, criticism serves to reveal, strengthen, polish the truth.

- By distorting truth so as to make it more palatable. Here something else is put above truth. The standard is not reality but convenience or comfort, and truth is dethroned.

- By suppressing new ideas which run counter to old customs and habits of thinking. See what happened to Galileo when he tried to introduce new notions about the nature of the universe. Where fresh ideas have a chance to be freely expressed and tested, those which are true will win out, those which are false will die in the struggle.

- By suppressing part of the truth to prove a point. Reputations are daily damaged by the vicious circulation of half-truths. To subordinate facts to foregone conclusions is to

enthrone falsehood. A case in point—Soviet efforts to "prove" that United Nations troops in the Korean struggle resorted to germ warfare.

- By giving a person or a group of persons the right to make ultimate decisions about what is true and what is not true. Here truth depends upon the judgments of fallible men. They may be right, again and again, but there is bound to come a time when they are wrong.

- By making people fearful of what will happen to them if they hear false ideas. In this situation knowledge cannot advance. Here is the Catholic who deems it a sin to enter a Protestant church, and vice versa.

- By making it dangerous to speak the truth if a rival or suspect group has already uttered it. Here truth bears the label of its advocate and is treated accordingly. In some quarters, liberal ideas about race relations, however true and right, are called Communistic because Russia is said to practice racial equality.

- By insisting that a complex historical episode or social movement is by nature absolutely true or absolutely false. That cannot be until we have perfect men in a perfect world. So long as men are frail, part angel and part devil, our social institutions will be only relatively good or relatively bad.

**3.** A most pernicious idea, recurring in many guises in every age, is that the end justifies the means. What

is usually meant is that harmful and unholy methods are all right if some "good" result is accomplished. Among some of the superpatriots today, for example, "anything goes" in the search for Communist conspirators and sympathizers.

The truth is that the end is contained in the means. In the deepest sense, bad methods produce bad results; the badness of the methods is bound to appear in the outcome. The end is good only to the extent that the means are good. To believe and practice this philosophy is to assert the majesty of truth and right.

The Communist conspiracy is an evil thing and must ever be suppressed along with other evil things, but we do irreparable harm to our country when we succumb to the use of un-American methods in combating un-American activities.

**4.** Why is it easier for Communism to flourish in a politically or religiously authoritarian country than in a free and democratic land? When beliefs are traditionally handed down from above in simple, easy-to-carry packages, people are not accustomed to think for themselves about fundamental questions of political philosophy, or to come to their own conclusions. They are used to playing "follow the leader."

Moreover, the oversimplified generalizations to which they are accustomed discourage full discussion and understanding of complicated issues of a political or economic nature. In

this situation propaganda replete with slogans is very effective.

It may also be noted that where an "authority" which has been credited with infallibility is confuted by obvious facts and therefore discredited, a vacuum is created easily filled by a more demonic authoritarianism.

**5.** A mounting evil in our country is anti-intellectualism. Whether the phenomenon is a contributing cause or a side effect of the current anti-Communist hysteria is hard to say. Some hallmarks are (a) two-tone thinking (everything is either good or bad, American or un-American, Christian or unchristian); (b) dependence upon easy analyses and digests of complicated problems and issues (note the popularity of radio and television news roundups and other capsule forms of news reporting); (c) distrust of experts (they know too much and make things complicated); (d) fear of diversity (this is becoming an age of conformity); (e) use of shibboleths and slogans; (f) activism (as though doing is a valid substitute for thinking). The danger is that the current anti-intellectualism may prelude a "know-nothing" movement.

### For Study and Discussion

**1.** Note the statement in the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church to the effect "that truth is *in order to goodness*" (Form of Government, Ch. I, Sec. 4). What do you think this means? Does the statement sug-



gest that truth is subordinate to goodness? Does the statement give any validity to a "white lie"?

**2.** In the case of Bishop Oxnham versus the House Committee on Un-American Activities (see page 4) it was disclosed that the Committee's files contained certain derogatory material concerning Bishop Oxnham's associations with persons and groups supposedly sympathetic to Communism. Much of the material was hearsay and shown to be false, and he was finally "cleared" by the Committee of any hint of disloyalty. The files had failed to reveal anything at all of Bishop Oxnham's vast labors and long services of a distinctly anti-Communist nature. There was no mention of his part in the formulation of several ringing declarations against Communism by Church bodies. Was the Committee justified in retaining only derogatory information in its files? Would the inclusion of favorable data have helped in evaluating material that seemed to suggest Communist leanings? Was this a case of withholding a part of the truth in order to prove a point? How do you think Congressional investigating committees should assemble, evaluate, release, and use their files?

**3.** In an *American Mercury* article (July, 1953) Mr. J. B. Matthews says, "The Communist Party has enlisted the support of at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen as party members, fellow travelers, espionage

agents, party-line adherents, and unwitting dupes." (The statement is endorsed in an article by Dr. Daniel Poling in *The Saturday Evening Post*, April 24, 1954, which is principally a criticism of the *Letter*.) Is this similar to saying that 100,000 persons in Chicago are guilty of murder, mayhem, armed robbery, and speeding? What do you think of this way of handling sensitive facts? Does Mr. Matthews' statement distort the truth by not giving sufficient analysis?

**4.** It is said that in a certain town only one man could prove that he was sane—he alone had discharge papers from an insane asylum. At times it seems that the word of a former-Communist-turned-informer carries more weight than the word of a person with a lifelong record of loyal service in the Government. Men and women apparently have been condemned and ruined by nothing more than "the uncorroborated word of former Communists." Do you believe that former active agents in the Communist conspiracy are, on the whole, reliable witnesses? Do you think that men and women disciplined in the Communist philosophy of lying are completely creditable when they become informers against the conspiracy?

**5.** Several ways in which truth can be degraded and dethroned are listed above. Can you think of present-day examples of these points? Can you add to the list?

# V. God's Sovereign Rule

## Excerpt from *A Letter to Presbyterians*

God's sovereign rule is the controlling factor in history. We speak of "this nation under God." Nothing is more needed today than to explore afresh and to apply to all the problems of thought and life in our generation what it means to take God seriously in national life. There is an order of God. Even in these days of flux and nihilism, of relativism and expediency, God reigns. The American-born poet, T. S. Eliot, has written these prophetic words:

"Those who put their faith in worldly order  
Not controlled by the order of God,  
In confident ignorance, but arrest disorder,  
Make it fast, breed fatal disease,  
Degrade what they exalt."

Any attempt to impose upon society, or the course of history, a purely man-made order, however lofty the aims, can have no more than temporary success. Social disorder and false political philosophies cannot be adequately met by police measures, but only by a sincere attempt to organize society in accordance with the everlasting principles of God's moral government of the world. It is, therefore, of paramount importance that individuals, groups, and nations should adjust themselves to the order of God. God's character and God's way with man provide the pattern for man's way with his fellow man.

That we have the obligation to make our nation as secure as possible, no one can dispute. But there is no absolute security in human affairs, nor is security the ultimate human obligation. A still greater obligation, as well as a more strategic procedure, is to make sure that what we mean by security, and the methods we employ to achieve it, are in accordance with the will of God. Otherwise, any human attempt to establish a form of world order which does no more than exalt the interest of a class, a culture, a race, or a nation, above God and the interests of the whole human family, is foredoomed to disaster. Ideas are on the march, forces are abroad, whose time has come. They cannot be repressed and they will bring unjust orders to an end. In the world of today all forms of feudalism, for example, are foredoomed. So too are all types of imperialism. The real question is how to solve the problems presented by these two forms of outmoded society in such a way that the transition to a better order will be gradual and constructive.

Let us frankly recognize that many of the revolutionary forces of our time are in great part the judgment of God upon human selfishness and complacency, and upon man's forgetfulness of man. That does not make these forces right; it does, however, compel us to consider how their driving power can be channeled into forms of creative thought and work. History, moreover, makes it abundantly clear that wherever a religion, a political system, or a social order does not interest itself in the common people, violent revolt eventually takes place.

On the other hand, just because God rules in the affairs of men, Communism as a solution of the human problem is foredoomed to failure. No political order can prevail which deliberately leaves God out of account. Despite its pretention to be striving after "liberation," Communism enslaves in the name of freedom. It does not know that evil cannot be eradicated from human life by simply changing a social structure. Man, moreover, has deep spiritual longings which Communism cannot satisfy. The Communistic order will eventually be shattered upon the bedrock of human nature, that is, upon the basic sins, and the abysmal needs, of man and society. For that reason Communism has an approaching rendezvous with God and the moral order.

Nevertheless, Communists, Communist nations, and Communist-ruled peoples should be our concern. In hating a system let us not allow ourselves to hate individuals or whole nations. History and experience teach us that persons and peoples do change. Let us ever be on the lookout for the evidence of change in the Communist world, for the effects of disillusionment, and for the presence of a God-implanted hunger.

There is clear evidence that a post-Communist mood is actually being created in many parts of Europe and Asia. Let us seek to deepen that mood. Let us explore afresh the meaning of mercy and forgiveness and recognize that both can have social and political significance when they are sincerely applied.

Let us always be ready to meet around a conference table with the rulers of Communist countries. There should be, therefore, no reluctance to employ the conference method to the full in the settling of disputes with our enemies.

In human conflicts there can be no substitute for negotiation. Direct personal conference has been God's way with man from the beginning. "Come, now, and let us reason together" was the word of God to Israel through the prophet Isaiah. We must take the risk, and even the initiative, of seeking face-to-face encounter with our enemies. We should meet them officially, whatever their ignominious record, and regardless of the suffering they may have caused us. We too have reasons for penitence and stand in need of forgiveness. In any case, talk, unhurried talk, talk which does not rule out in advance the possibility of success, talk which takes place in private, and not before reporters or microphones or television, is the only kind of approach which can lead to sanity and fruitful understanding. Let the process of conference be private, but let its conclusions, its complete conclusions, be made public.

In this connection such an organization as the United Nations is in harmony with the principles of God's moral government. American Presbyterians should remember with pride that it is the successor of a former organization which was the creation of a great American who was also a great Presbyterian. While the United Nations organization is very far from perfection and it functions today under great handicaps, it is yet the natural and best available agent for international co-operation and the settlement of disputes among nations. It is imperative, therefore, that it be given the utmost support.

While we take all wise precautions for defense, both within and outside our borders, the present situation demands spiritual calm, historical perspective, religious faith, and an adventurous spirit. Loyalty to great principles of truth and justice has made our nation great; such loyalty alone can keep it great and ensure its destiny.

May God give us the wisdom to think and act in accordance with his will.



## Purpose

To recognize our need for taking God seriously in national life and for organizing society according to God's plan. To consider some specific suggestions for resolving the East-West conflict.

## Comments

1. If the sovereignty of God means anything, it means that only God's plan will work in the world. Ultimately every measure and scheme not in accord with God's will is bound to fail. Our Christian duty is clear. We must seek and do the will of Christ in every area of life—in race relations, in economic life, in home and community life, in international affairs.

The Christian Church stands in a crucial and strategic position. Fashioned for God's purpose, the Church is his voice in the world. Through its gospel, its means of grace, its inspired word, God can guide the hearts and minds of men through the perils of the moment to the fulfillment of his will.

2. A serious factor in the present crisis in which our country is involved is the apparently diminishing influence of the people on public policy. Many citizens have become careless of their freedom. By their lethargy they reject responsibility for serious thought and courageous action on hard questions. The evil is

aggravated by the demagoguery of willful and ambitious men who seek power by playing on our fears and repressing freedom of thought and debate. Edmund Burke once said, "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing."

The Church, therefore, should summon its members to responsible Christian citizenship in which the social relevance of the gospel is strongly and truly expressed. Indeed, the Church fails to impress upon its members the full meaning of Christian discipleship unless it calls them to their duty as citizens.

3. Some critics of the *Letter* have said that it is not forthright enough in denouncing Communism. They seem to want a disclaimer in every paragraph. The fact is that the *Letter* makes the most devastating of all denunciations of Communism by pointing out that it is doomed to utter failure. The *Letter* says, in effect, that Communism will die because its very nature is disease and corruption. "No political order can prevail which deliberately leaves God out of account."

4. The *Letter* dares to suggest that the only good way to bring the East-West conflict to an end is by conference and negotiation. This is not naïveté, but deep human understanding and common sense. The only alternatives are continued and heightened tension, or the ultimate



horror of war. True, there has been duplicity, and negotiation may again and again seem fruitless and futile, but ultimately there will come understanding. This we must believe. We must also believe that powerful forces behind the Iron Curtain are at work to bring an end to the tyranny.

**5.** The United Nations continues to be our best available hope for peace and order in the world. Every year since its founding in 1945, the General Assembly has given its warm encouragement and support to the UN as an invaluable instrument of international justice and good will. Our Church has specifically called upon our Government to make the UN a "major cornerstone in our foreign policy," has called for the support of specialized agencies related to the UN, has urged that American programs of economic aid and technical assistance be closely correlated with similar efforts of the UN, has insisted that collective security arrangements in which we enter be consistent with the United Nations Charter.

To be sure, the UN is an imperfect device, but it is constantly improving its methods and enlarging its effectiveness. Said the 1953 General Assembly: "We are tempted often to stress the halting progress of the UN. It is more realistic to marvel that the UN has progressed and achieved at all in this kind of world."

## For Study and Discussion

**1.** The *Letter* underscores our duty to make our nation as secure as possible. It goes on to say, however, that security is not our ultimate obligation, but rather to do God's will. Many thoughtful Christians are reminding us that, though disloyalty to our country is reprehensible, we must not forget that our primary allegiance is to Almighty God. Do you see a paradox here? Do you believe that it is God's will for us in these times to be seeking national security above everything else? Read Chapter XXIII of the Confession of Faith, especially Section 4, which deals with our duty toward civil governments. Compare this with the Declaration of Independence, especially the meaty second paragraph which delineates the purpose of governments and affirms the right of the people to resist and even to rebel.

**2.** The Old Testament prophets used to say that the international crises afflicting the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel were the judgments of God upon their idolatry and sin. Dare we discern God's judgment upon our nation in the troubles we now face? For example, India's present distrust of American aims and policies in the cold war seems to reflect, at least in part, its bitter condemnation of racial segregation in many parts of our country. Do you think our failure to win India's com-

plete support and co-operation is a judgment of God? What would Isaiah have said about it?

**3.** It is well to be reminded of our Christian duty in the realm of citizenship. On Sundays before elections, many churches seek to impress upon their members the importance of voting. It has been suggested, however, that it would be better for churches to urge their members *not to vote* unless they had studied the issues and the candidates and were prepared to make free and intelligent decisions in the voting booth. What do you think of this suggestion? How can churches help their members to know the issues and the candidates and to vote intelligently?

**4.** Several people have thoughtfully criticized the *Letter* for recommending reliance upon conference and negotiation for the eventual settling of our differences with Soviet Russia. What do you really think about this issue? Is there any acceptable way, other than high-level face-to-face negotiation, for bringing the cold war to an end? Under what conditions, do you think, would conferences between American and Soviet representatives be most likely to succeed? What are some of the things that would hamper such negotiations?

**5.** Read the 1952 and 1953 General Assembly pronouncements deal-

ing with the United Nations. Note also the Report of the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, held at Cleveland in October, 1953. (This Conference was sponsored by the National Council of Churches. It was made up of some 400 representatives from 26 communions. One of the reports adopted by the Conference dealt with the United Nations.)

Why do you think the churches of America have endorsed the United Nations pretty consistently since its inception in 1946? What can a local church do to promote interest in and support for the UN? Reference is made in comment 3 of Chapter II to the various groups now engaging in campaigns against international movements, a favorite target being the United Nations. These groups and their activities are also discussed in an article, "The World in Christian Perspective," in the April, 1954, issue of *Social Progress*. What can the churches do to neutralize the "hate campaign" against the UN?

**6.** In the light of this study of "Our Freedoms Under God," what are some of the subjects and problems you would like to have your church, or church group, consider in the coming year? What can your church, or church group, do to implement and extend human rights in your own community? What do you intend to do about some of the issues treated in this study?

# From Apathy to Action

"Meetingitis" keeps too many churches from making the slightest stir about crucial issues. The social ills that degrade and destroy personality and menace what we call civilization have to wait for a fifth Wednesday when we can slip in an extra meeting. Christian educators and social actionists agree that social responsibility is a *normal*, inescapable part of Christian discipleship. What we need most speedily to do is to build social concern into the *regular* program.

This section suggests ways to stimulate interest in the *Letter* and the issues it raises in the groups where people *normally* and *regularly* gather for worship, work, fellowship, and study.

### Where to Use

This study guide can be effectively and creatively used for serious study and discussion in many group situations in the local church. Ministers will see its relevance as background for prophetic preaching, pastoral prayers, and public worship—its uses in the larger group setting. Program leaders will recognize its value for such smaller groups as:

- **Adult Bible classes**—The study lends itself to lesson outlines for a series of class sessions, or a single introductory class period that will encourage further individual reading, and deeper study of Biblical truths.

- **Meetings of the session, diaconate, board of trustees**—The minister and two or three laymen from each church board may plan brief presentations and questions for discussion at four or five regular meetings. Copies of the *Letter* and this

study guide should be mailed by the minister with a personal letter to each church officer in advance of the meetings in which these materials will be considered. Comment and discussion would show how pertinent the *Letter* is to the specific functions of each board. The session, for example, would consider these materials in relation to its responsibility for the supervision of the spiritual nurture of the congregation, and the church's teaching program. In receiving and instructing new members, elders would point out that the *Letter* and guide are in keeping with the doctrine and tradition of the Church; each new member would be handed a copy of the *Letter* and General Assembly pronouncements.

- **Church officer training**—The study guide and the *Letter* are excellent resource materials for certain phases of church officers' training. They are useful as discussion and worship topics in annual training institutes, and orientation sessions for new officers.

Stimulate group discussion by a "reaction test," based on the study, followed by role-playing or impromptu acting out of solutions to a problem of civil liberties, for example, where an individual or a group might be damaged by accusation of leftist associations, and where the Church should take a stand on these highly important issues.

- **Week end retreats for the men of the church**—"These Freedoms Under God" would be an appropriate theme, with emphasis on fellowship, "permissive" unhurried discussion, and plenty of time for silence and worship.

• **In men's councils and couples' clubs and other adult groups of the church**—The study guide and the issues it explores could be presented in a series of group conversations based on comments and discussion questions from the guide. Buzz sessions or brainstorm discussions on the guide can be developed around these provocative buzz questions:

What are some standards by which Christians as citizens view public affairs and engage in social action?

What are some basic rights and freedoms which are being undermined in our country today? (See Ch. II, question 2.)

What are some positive things we can do as Christians to forestall the Communist menace and make democracy strong? (Chapter II, question 3.)

By careful study of the guide and *Letter* adult groups could also prepare themselves for group interviews with key persons in local community life, for example, the mayor, members of the town council, school board, school administrators, newspaper editors. Group members could interpret what they have learned of our world's perils and inform these key people of the concern of the Church.

• **In Sunday night forums and mid-week and church-night meetings**—the crucial issues dealt with in the *Letter*, the guide, and the supplementary statements from other religious bodies could be presented in a panel or a symposium. The audience would participate in small conversation groups conducted by leaders and recorders who have been coached and prepared to stimulate conversation on specific issues.

In some communities these gatherings might be co-operatively planned with neighboring churches of other Protestant denominations.

### Quotable

Every church has regular channels of communication to its members and to the

community. Excerpts from the *Letter* and comments from the study guide make excellent quotes for—

• **Publication in church bulletins** and newsletters mailed to the congregation.

• **Bulletin board displays** related to a local incident involving some infringement on civil liberties on which churchmen should take a stand.

• **Communiqués to presidents and officers of church organizations** from the minister or local committee on Christian education. Carefully selected quotes from the *Letter* and an interpretation of its significance in the lives of individual church members could be addressed to each group leader, with the suggestion that the message be read in the next regular meeting.

• **Releases publicizing** new books and study materials in the church library. The study guide, the *Letter*, General Assembly pronouncements, etc., should be featured in the regular church library and made available to all members and church leaders. Copies could be displayed on the literature table and sold at the coffee hour following the morning service, or as groups gather for a church family night.

• **In personal mailings to key members** of the congregation and key persons in the community. The minister, clerk of session, or the presidents of church organizations may send marked copies of the *Letter* and the guide to persons in strategic leadership positions for use in speeches, letters, contacts.

• **The minister's pastoral counseling and calling** will give him opportunities to approach and enlist more readers. In local situations where it is now impossible to initiate group study, the minister or concerned lay leaders should look



for individuals who can be involved in a reading program, and in earnest conversation about their reading.

### **Prepare Well—Before Using**

Use of the study requires careful preparation. Program planners or three or four key leaders should meet in advance of meetings to read and discuss the *Letter* and the study guide and to plan program strategy. They would consider: (1) what sections of the study would be most appropriate to the interests and responsibilities of the particular group; (2) the approach, questions to spark interest; (3) promotion or buildup needed, or the "surprise" attack; (4) the program techniques that will arouse immediate group response; (5) the available resource materials. Then the points to be covered should be carefully outlined. Next steps and follow-up action should be anticipated. What happens in the planning is as important as the actual "program."

The purpose of the group study should never be forgotten—"to initiate a process of thought"—fresh creative inquiry that will inform and stimulate further study, deepen faith and loyalty to God's purposes and Lordship. Participation should help to make individual Christians sensitive and alert to injustice of any kind and prepare church members for responsible citizenship in a free society.

There should be a minimum of "lecturing." Leaders should aim to "involve" every member by the best uses of the group process. Reaction tests, role-playing, buzz and brainstorm sessions, problem clinics, panel discussions with full audience participation in conversation groups for warmup and summary should be more widely used.

### **For Resourceful Leaders Only!**

Too many churches shy away from social issues because they fear that controversy will divide the Church. Their leaders are willing to get involved only

in safe subjects on which most everybody agrees. They have not yet appreciated what good can come out of tension and difference of opinion. Social scientists have established the fact that it is often easier to change the point of view of a group than the mind-set of isolated individuals. There is tested evidence that attitudes are not easily changed in groups of like-minded persons, where individual prejudices are reinforced by group approval. The interchange of differing opinions breaks up stereotyped concepts, helps all involved to re-examine their old ideas and to be more willing to accept some new ones. Some tension is necessary to growth.

Secular discussions often disintegrate into bitter debates and contentions. People call each other names and argue to reinforce their own prejudices. But Christians approach any serious study of controversial issues in a spirit of humility, open-mindedness, soul-searching, and deep awareness that their individual opinions are not infallible. The judgments of all men are subject to the judgment of God and the correction of their brothers. Presbyterian polity should have its finest expression in the mutual respect we have for individual differences and ideas. Nothing could be less Presbyterian than the standards of conformity and thought control that some superpatriots would like to impose!

Church groups and organizations should deal with the issues presented in this study in a spirit of worship, of seeking to know, not the prevailing biases of popular opinion, but the will of God. Group leaders guide, not dominate, discussion periods.

In this prayerful context, study and discussion of the most controversial of issues do not endanger the peace, unity, and purity of the Church. Rather, all who are involved are convinced of their common social responsibilities, their dependence upon God, and the divine workings of the Holy Spirit.

# **Light Without Heat**

### **Invocation:**

Almighty God, who hast commanded us to seek to live at peace with all men, especially within the household of faith, so fill us with love and trust for our brethren, that we may continue in peace, even as we find ourselves at variance with them.

Make us mindful of the frailty and fallibility of all human judgments, including our own, and give us the humility to subject our opinions to the searching light of thy Word and to the judgment of our brethren in the Lord. In all our study and deliberation, deliver us from childish irritation with those who disagree with us. Stay thou the unkind word from our lips, the hasty conclusion from our minds, the cynical mistrust of motives from our hearts. Give us all the guidance of thy Holy Spirit, and grant us grace to submit to his leadership, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who promised that in knowing the truth we should find our freedom. Amen.

### **Scripture Suggestions:**

**Acts 5:27-39**—A passage implying the wisdom of allowing freedom of belief and expression of “controversial” doctrine—Gamaliel’s trust that, in the providence of God, truth can defend itself if given freedom to express itself.

**Acts 22: 22-29**—A passage concerning Paul’s testimony and his rights as a Roman citizen to be treated as innocent until tried.

**Gal. 5: 13-15**—A passage with implicit overtones on the use and misuse of freedom.

### **Closing Prayer:**

Eternal God, who art the Source and Preserver of all justice; we beseech thee mightily to defend the freedom which thou hast conferred upon our fathers and ourselves, that liberty may perpetually flourish in this land. Cast down from the place of power all such as wantonly and for their own advancement defame the reputation of others, or by threats and denunciation seek to intimidate the souls of men. Make our government and courts to be a stronghold against every danger to the freedom that we have so hardly won. Cause integrity to prevail in political affairs, and inspire our people with a right and generous judgment in all that pertains to the public good. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.—*Norman Langford, Editor in Chief, Board of Christian Education.*

### **Hymn Suggestions:**

Hymn 414, “God of Our Fathers,” “National Hymn”

Hymn 416, “Not Alone for Mighty Empire,” “Hyfrydol”

Hymn 413, “God Bless Our Native Land,” “Dort”

Hymn 419, “O God of Earth and Altar,” “Llangloffan”

### **Prelude to Discussion and Study:**

May the words of our mouths and the meditations of our hearts be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, our Strength and our Redeemer. Amen.

# Other Church Bodies Speak

Religious leaders representing Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths have affirmed the responsibilities of religious groups for the maintenance of freedom and the integrity and sanctity of human responsibility. Their official statements quoted in this section will be useful reference material. Presbyterians are not alone in their witness.

## NATIONAL COUNCIL STATEMENT ON INVESTIGATIONS

**D**EEPLY concerned by certain trends in American public life, the National Council of Churches in March, 1953, created a Committee on the Maintenance of American Freedom and instructed it to "watch developments that threaten the freedom of any of our people or their institutions, whether through denying the basic right of freedom of thought, through Communist infiltration, or wrong methods of meeting that infiltration."

### I

One such threat has come from procedural abuses by Congressional committees. Remedial measures are now being proposed, and we commend the President, the leaders of both major parties, and the members of Congress who have spoken out and demanded reforms. If these reforms are to be adequate, they should provide protection from at least the following:

1. The stigmatizing of individuals and organizations on the basis of unsupported accusations and casual associations.

2. The forcing of citizens, under pretext of investigation of subversive activities, to testify concerning their personal economic and political beliefs.

3. The functioning of Congressional

committees as legislative courts to determine the guilt or innocence of individuals.

4. The denying to "witnesses" opportunity to bring out material favorable to their side of the case through questions by witnesses' own counsel and opportunity to test the validity of accusations through cross-examination of accusers.

5. The permitting to a committee member or counsel the reading into the record against a "witness" defamatory material and charges without requiring the accuser personally to confront the accused.

6. The usurping by Congressional committees of powers not granted to Congress by the Constitution and their failing to concentrate on the primary task of collecting information for purposes of new legislation.

7. The scheduling of hearings, subpoenaing of witnesses, and evaluating of their testimony by chairmen of committees without the concurrence of, or consultation with, their fellow committee members.

8. The releasing from the files of a Congressional committee of so-called "information" consisting of unverified and unevaluated data in such a way that the committee can be used to help to spread and give credence to malicious gossip.

## II

Another threat has come from competition among rival Congressional committees, creating the impression that they seek publicity, personal aggrandizement, and political advantage rather than basic facts. In order to concentrate energy on the legitimate and essential tasks of resisting the Communist threat, and in order to avoid wastage and duplication of effort and to minimize the risk of the exploitation of public interest and fear, we urge the establishment of a single joint Congressional committee for the investigation of subversive activity.

## III

A more basic threat has been a growing tendency on the part of our people and their representatives in Government to suppose that it is within the competence of the state to determine what is and what is not American. The American way is to preserve freedom by encouraging diversity within the unity of the nation and by trusting truth to prevail over error in open

discussion. The American way is to rely upon individuals to develop and express individual opinions. The American way is to depend upon the educational institutions to seek the truth and teach it without fear. The American way is to look to the churches in the richness of their diversity to bring to the nations light and discipline from God to maintain a responsible freedom.

## IV

Aggravating these threats to American freedom is the prevailing mood of restlessness and tension. This arises in part from the real menace of Communism, which our nation is resisting by strength. It arises in part from the lack of a sense of security within our people which no physical strength can produce. Spiritual security can be achieved only by strengthening the nation's faith in God. The responsibility for deepening this faith rests with the churches.

*—Adopted by the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.*

## MESSAGE FROM METHODIST CHURCH COUNCIL OF BISHOPS

**T**WELVE eventful years have passed since the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church was assembled for its semi-annual session at this beautiful and historic place, scene of the Oglethorpe Colony and intimately associated with the early ministry of John and Charles Wesley.

While the Council was then in session the tragedy of Pearl Harbor forced America into a conflict that had already engulfed a large part of the world.

During the present session, more than a decade later, the President of the United States has spoken words to the peoples of the world that may be no less significant than the events of Pearl Harbor. The ap-

peal of this Christian statesman makes us deeply conscious that the struggle is not yet ended; that the issue is still joined between the might of the oppressor and the forces of freedom and that the way out of the present conflict is by a common agreement among the nations that our capacity to destroy—and in particular the newly discovered secrets of the atom—may be used instead to serve mankind, thus making effective in our modern world the idealism of an ancient prophet who spoke of turning swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks. We heartily commend and endorse this deliverance.

It has been the conviction of the Meth-



odist Church for years, never held more strongly than now, that the right to be free implies not only the freedom of the body, but also the freedom of the mind and the freedom of the spirit.

**In this time of fear** and irresponsible accusation, areas of freedom of speech and thought are being narrowed all over the world. In Communist lands thought control uses the techniques of absolute censorship, spying of secret police, torture, imprisonment, and death.

In our land when we protest against such types of control, self-appointed guardians of the liberty we want for ourselves and all men may, by the calling of names, unfounded accusations, and the assertion of guilt by association, destroy the priceless heritage they claim to defend. In the United States today there are people—some of them in our church—who are being made to believe false statements about their leaders until the human mind is filled with suspicion and the spirit shackled.

In such an atmosphere, suspicion becomes fear, fear becomes hatred, and hatred sets a man against his neighbor, friend, and brother.

We deplore unproved assertions that the Protestant ministry is honeycombed with disloyalty. We are unalterably opposed to Communism, but we know that the alternative to Communism is not an American brand of Fascism. Our time-honored and self-authenticated procedures for determining guilt and disloyalty can so easily be discarded in fanatical investigations; we must oppose those who in the name of Americanism employ the methods of repression, who speak with the voice of de-

mocracy but whose hands are the hands of tyranny.

Victory over Communism belongs to the triumph of spiritual idealism which has made our nation and given it any leadership it merits among the nations of the world. The President of the United States in a compelling speech last spring emphasized that victory over Communism is possible only through spiritual awakening.

In the continuing conflict between freedom and totalitarianism, religion has been and is the unfailing bulwark of free men. Faith in the sovereign goodness of God and in the inherent dignity of man has sustained the people of every nation who have dared to stand for moral right and have refused to surrender their dreams for universal peace.

**The most pertinent need of this hour** is a spiritual reawakening and a turning to Almighty God. We therefore call upon the Church to proclaim the evangel of Jesus Christ with renewed confidence and insistence in the face of every opponent, and to interpret its relevance to the fears and problems that confront us. We call upon our people that they remember the rock out of which they are hewn; that they hold fast their Christian heritage; that they stand steadfast against every attempt to shackle the human spirit; and that, with humble mind and dedicated life, they pray and labor with all who confess the Lordship of Christ to the end that all men may be redeemed by his grace and his Kingdom may be established on the earth.

*—Adopted December 11, 1953, by the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church.*

## PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL BISHOPS' PASTORAL LETTER

**W**E, YOUR bishops in council assembled, greet you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Since the pastoral is by canon

directed to be read to all congregations on a Lord's Day, we rejoice in the privilege of speaking to you as members of God's

redeemed family through whom Christ offers his love and his saving power to the world.

Meeting here in historic Williamsburg, we are reminded anew of our national heritage and of our responsibility.

To these shores in 1607 came a little company of brave men ready to suffer hardships and face unknown dangers. With material resources the poverty of which we can scarcely grasp, but sustained by a vision of freedom and with a firm conviction in the power of God to uphold them in their endeavor, they laid the foundations of this nation.

Under God this nation grew and prospered, and if today it be great and strong, as nations are counted strong, we know that the greatest factor in bringing her pre-eminence has been not alone the multitudes brought here from other lands, not alone our resources, or our industrial skills, but the faith of our fathers.

If we are to remain strong and discharge our obligations to the peoples of the earth, we can best do so by renewing our faith, a faith which will restore self-reliance, personal responsibility, a conscience about debts, a disinterested love of country so characteristic of those in our armed forces, and a determination to be satisfied with life's essentials.

### **Causes for Thanksgiving**

As we review the state of the Church today, there are causes for thanksgiving. The gain in communicant strength has been steady and continuous, and the increase while small exceeds the percentage of growth of the population of our country. In the field of Christian education and laymen's work, notable advances have been made. The number of fit men who are offering themselves for the ministry is encouraging, but it is obvious that the increase must continue.

As we look at Christianity both at home and abroad, there is further cause for thanksgiving. In the United States, mem-

bership in the Christian Churches has continued to advance at an encouraging rate. Surely this must have some significance for Churches in our land, for "unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."

In spite of great losses in certain areas, Christianity is stronger numerically and more widespread geographically than at any other time in history. With its roots struck deep in every continent, it has continued to advance in the face of the calamities of two great world wars and of unrelenting oppression in all Communist countries.

Even behind the Iron Curtain the Christian life continues as men acknowledge Jesus as Lord and Christ. Our Christian faith has survived and will survive.

With these causes for encouragement we have reason also for sober concern. The outlook for Christianity and for the world from a Christian point of view has rarely been more serious. There are mighty forces without and weaknesses within, inimical to Christianity.

### **Double Menace Seen**

The greatest avowed enemy of Christianity is Communism with its philosophy of materialism. Closely allied to this foe of Christianity is another form of totalitarianism which defies the state, expressing itself in various forms of national state socialism. These two aspects of the modern situation have been brought before us here by our Presiding Bishop in the following words:

"The meeting here is symbolic not only of the historic past but it has deep significance for the problems of our own day. It should hardly be necessary to state that the Christian Church is opposed to Communism as a threat not only to individual freedom but indeed to everything for which the Christian religion stands.

"But it is necessary to make this statement, for there have been broad generalizations and accusations, particularly against

those Churches which have a democratic tradition. The fact is that the Christian Churches are the greatest bulwark against atheism and the whole philosophy and practice of Communism.

"It is not simply a matter of pronouncements but of all that happens on the parish level, the training of children, the preaching of the gospel of Christ, the worship of Almighty God. The Church is equally opposed to what may be described as 'creeping' Fascism. We know from our brethren of the Churches abroad that often Fascism has come upon them unawares.

"We are against trial by uninformed public opinion, against accusations by hearsay."

The Presiding Bishop concluded by declaring, "We are for fairness, and justice, as a part both of Christianity and of our democratic way of life."

### **Race War Decried**

In many areas there is the suspicion that Christianity is a creature of Western imperialism. Winds of revolution have been blowing briskly in all the world in our generation. Everywhere subject people are striving for their independence and national sovereignty. Not only has this trend done much to strengthen the national religions in their opposition to Christianity, but it has tended to associate Christianity with the forces that resist these peoples' natural desire for independence.

Associated with this is the problem confronting the Christian Church in the prevalence of racial discontent in large sections of Africa and Asia. In the United States the bitterness and prejudice aroused by racial issues have posed difficulties in dismay proportions. We rejoice in the stand our brother bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa have taken in their proclamation of the unity under God of all peoples.

Besides foes without, there are problems within. One of the chief difficulties the Church must face everywhere is nominal

church membership. This is reflected in irregular church attendance, in infrequent Communion, in perfunctory giving, and in worldly living. Nearly one half the people of the United States do not have so much as a nominal relationship to any religious body, a secular spirit which the Bible describes in the Gospel as "mammon" and in the Epistles as "the world."

### **New Evangelism Urged**

Another concern is the morale of our people. Corruption appears in high places, criminals overcrowd our prisons, juvenile delinquency is a mounting problem. Our country seems to be losing that faith and confidence in itself which has characterized our life in other days, and shown itself in a devotion of human rights and liberties. We have become anxious and worried, the victims of our fears—our fear of war, of military service, of insecurity, and of Communism.

In the face of these perils and problems Christians see clearly that the ultimate solution of the troubles and tragedies of this confused world is found in the Christian faith. No peace can be had, no concord established until men come to accept the truth of the gospel. The call to the Church is clear to tell the story of the redemptive life of Christ Jesus. The communicating of his life to men is the responsibility of the Church and its members.

If we Christians really believe that the gospel is the power of God unto salvation, we must accept with eager will and quickened heart the missionary task and opportunity before the Church today. The burden of evangelism has never been laid more heavily upon the conscience of the Church. A suspicious, disillusioned, and bewildered age must be made to look into the face of the risen Christ.

Where he is accepted and followed as prophet and teacher there the meaning of life is truly revealed. Where he is accepted as priest, there is a new and living relationship between God and man. Where he is

accepted as king, discipline and order lead to peace.

It is our privilege and bounden duty to proclaim with fresh vigor to all men the truth of God in Christ Jesus. Our Lord has solemnly laid upon us this command: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, . . . teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you."

This divine commission means sacrifice and complete commitment, and the facing of danger. Here is adventure, shining and glorious, and the issue is beyond imagination.

Our task is not to adapt him to the world, but to convert the world to him. All the highest meanings of life are centered in Christ Jesus. The time calls for Christian witness in every parish and for the friendly co-operation of all who call on his name.

Times of crisis are days of the Lord if God can find men and women who are ready and unafraid to speak his truth. Old, yet ever new, the Church remains the instrument of God's loving purpose.

*—Statement issued by the House of Bishops, November 13, 1953.*

## A QUERY AND ADVICES ADDRESSED TO FRIENDS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

FROM its beginnings three hundred years ago the Religious Society of Friends has opposed the use of force or violence between individuals or nations. Because we believe in conciliation, based on respect and love for all peoples, it is equally impossible for us to advocate the overthrow of any Government by force and violence, or to support the warmaking effort of any Government. Our belief in "that of God in every man," and in the essential sacredness of the individual, is unalterably opposed to the totalitarian way of life and its resultant totalitarian state.

Moreover, our nation is "this nation under God" and we reaffirm our unshaken conviction that our highest allegiance is to God. If there is a conflict, "we ought to obey God rather than men."

American democracy was founded on a deep religious faith in the ultimate worth of man; a faith that man has rights and responsibilities given by God; that free men will seek truth and right and will choose them rather than error; that men need not fear "to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is left free to combat it." The founders believed that a government whose power to interfere with personal liberty is

limited is safer and better than one which prescribes conformity to any orthodox doctrine. We affirm our agreement with these principles.

Today in a time of great social and political tension many Americans are losing touch with the ideals and sources of strength upon which this democracy rests. In response to the fears and hates of war, in fear even of their own weapons of war, they are losing faith in man and his relation to God; they are losing faith in the power of ideas freely arrived at to meet and displace error. They are losing touch with the needs and aspirations of people in most of the rest of the world. Indeed, in their fear of Communism, they are losing faith in democracy.

Civil liberties are founded on God's gift to man of the ability to search for truth and the freedom to act on what truth he finds. This freedom can be fully expressed only in the social group and it is to maintain the conditions most favorable to man's exercise of his God-given rights that governments exist. A government which carries out this responsibility well is, as William Penn said, "a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institutions and end."



If we remember that God and not the state is the source of the truth men seek, then any attempt on the part of government to determine what men may or may not believe, may or may not say, will be recognized as a perversion of the government's function.

The threat of Communism has caused us to forget these eternal truths. Yet, Communism jeopardizes our way of life not so much by its political and economic theories as by those totalitarian practices which destroy moral fiber and erase human conscience and abolish human freedom. A democratic government which attempts to protect itself against Communism by adopting totalitarian measures is thereby succumbing to the most destructive element in what it fears. No amount of international tension, intrigue, or threat of war can justify measures which are undemocratic.

Increasing encroachments on the freedom and integrity of the individual by irresponsible accusations, by pressures for conformity in thinking, by charges of guilt by association, by insistence on assertions of loyalty, and by the assumption of guilt, rather than the presumption of innocence, all have their origin in fear and insecurity, growing in large part out of the threat of war and of Communism and out of the emphasis on military strength and military secrecy. These are essential features of totalitarianism. They create an image of the state as the source of all truth and the object of unqualified loyalty. *This is idolatry*, and strikes at the root of both American political philosophy and of basic Quaker principle.

Do Friends and Friends' meetings seek faithfully to uphold our civil and religious liberties, not only for ourselves but for all men?

In the light of these, our ancient truths, Friends are advised:

1. To reaffirm their faith in the living God whose Spirit works in the hearts of all men and to recognize that God works

to preserve the rights and liberties of men as he works through them; and also to examine once more the underlying principles of our democracy.

2. Since the fear of controversy often impedes us in the pursuit of truth, Friends are advised to welcome controversy when it arises from differing opinions honestly held. We should aim to develop a corporate witness on freedom which will match the clarity of our other testimonies. Through the creative use of controversy we can discover new truth.

3. Friends are urged to be alert to dangers inherent in censorship, and in conditions which would limit the freedom of teachers to discuss current problems, and in movements which would seek to enforce a narrow orthodoxy of thought and expression.

4. The influence of each individual in the local community is of great importance.

5. Friends generally should support individuals who have suffered loss of their livelihood by acting under conscience in resisting conscription, or in opposing loyalty oaths, or for seeking to uphold basic civil and religious liberties.

6. Friends should deal with individuals accused of Communism, or persons rejected by society for other reasons, as human beings. Without embracing false philosophies or condoning any error, Friends should still regard all as children of God. If in prison, they should be visited; and where there is need, arrangements made for their families.

7. In the face of increasing pressure toward conformity as exemplified in non-disloyalty oaths, Friends should re-examine their traditional testimony against oaths which test loyalty by words instead of deeds, intensify fear and suspicion, and imply guilt unless innocence is proven, not to mention a double standard of truth. True loyalty and allegiance can be attained only by conviction, not by coercion. In the words of the Five Years Meeting of Friends in 1945, we affirm "our unchanging

conviction that our first allegiance is to God and if this conflicts with any compulsion by the state, we serve our country best by remaining true to our higher loyalty."

8. Friends are encouraged to exercise the responsibility of citizenship by examining carefully specific national issues affecting civil liberties and by taking action as appropriate. We view with apprehension: the lack of protection of individual rights in Congressional committee procedures; the current proposals to permit wire tapping; the operation of the Federal Loyalty-Security program; the investigation of beliefs and associations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and the limitations placed on the issuance of passports and visas with adverse affect, among other things, on the holding of scientific and religious conferences in this country. We encourage support of the International Declaration of Human Rights.

9. In making statements to investigating officers and agencies, Friends should be

especially careful for the reputation of others, speaking only the objective facts known to them, and guarding against misquotation by making statements in writing where possible.

10. Finally, Friends are reminded that the loss of civil liberties is an inevitable consequence of the resort to war and violence as the means of security. They have, therefore, an inescapable responsibility to work unceasingly for the elimination of war through the establishment of a just economic and political order, disarmament, and the creation of true world community.

With a profound sense of humility that we have fallen so far short of the ideal revealed in the light given unto us, and with a corresponding sense of responsibility to our fellow men we call on all Friends to join with us in the pursuit of these goals. —*Prepared by a called meeting of Friends at Scattergood School in Iowa, April 2-4, 1954.*

## BAPTIST STATEMENT ON CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

THE investigations of the "Voice of America" and the threatened investigations of schools and colleges, and even of churches and ministers, have brought about legitimate concern on the part of thoughtful people throughout our country.

Surely we would not question the right, and even the duty, of Congressional committees to make investigations. This is a method that has been established by law and in practice across the years. Even Senate and Congressional committees, however, are obligated to recognize the rights of the people provided to them in the Bill of Rights. It is possible that danger may arise from reckless use of power by men, who, by their methods, may come to be the tool for the promotion of Communism rather than a means of eliminating Communists from any hurtful connection or

position within our Government.

When responsible commentators, eminent ministers, along with thoughtful editors, come forth to assail the motives and to point out the dangers involved in the methods being employed by Congressional investigating committees, the American people who love freedom do well to be on the alert. In some countries of the world the people have been robbed of their liberties by dominating groups from within, rather than the forces from without. We would express the conviction that the great body of our American people have not gone Communistic, and that wise limitation should be placed upon the powers of those who would investigate them in the schools or in the churches.

—*Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, March 24, 1953.*

# STATEMENT OF THE EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

GENERAL Council reiterates the resolution adopted at its meeting in Evansville, Indiana, September 15-17, 1953. That resolution reads:

"The General Council sees no common ground between Christianity and Communism. The General Council believes that the two ways of life are opposed and irreconcilable. However, our opposition to Communism does not blind us to a tendency that is prevalent in American life today and to which we are unalterably opposed. That tendency labels anyone a Communist or fellow traveler who is at all critical of the *status quo* in American life. Part of the responsibility that naturally falls upon the Church is to stand in judgment upon the paganism and materialism that tend to express themselves in many areas of our life. When the Church ceases to be critical, the Church loses her birthright."

To this statement should be added that the General Council is also concerned about the danger of a creeping Fascism

which often comes upon nations unaware. Such trends as: trials by uninformed public opinion, accusations by hearsay, guilt by association, and impugning of motives are serious dangers to the freedom which we cherish. General Council believes in fairness and justice as being a part of both Christianity and of the democratic way of life. We note with appreciation that other Churches are supporting this same position. The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., through its General Council, has issued a "statement concerning the present situation in our country and in the world." There has been a pastoral letter issued by the Episcopal House of Bishops as well as a statement by the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church. We join with our fellow Christians in dedicating ourselves to our Christian faith and our opposition to any threats from either the "right" or the "left."

*—Statement adopted by the General Council of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, February 18, 1954.*

## CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN STATEMENT

THE Advisory Committee of the Executive Committee of the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches cordially supports the position taken yesterday by the General Board of the National Council of Churches in regard to methods used in connection with Congressional investigations of subversive activities.

As spiritual descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers who fled to this country to escape the intolerably conducted inquisitions of government officials in England, we are peculiarly interested in the new threat that Congressional committees may inquire into alleged Communistic activities in our Churches.

The ministerial personnel and books of our Churches are open now and always to investigation by any duly authorized Congressional committee seeking information regarding property or any other matters with which the State normally deals. We should, however, join our brethren of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant groups in resisting with all our energy any invasion of the spiritual domain of the Churches by the State.

We believe that the proper procedure, in case of suspected subversive activity within the Churches, would be for the appropriate Congressional committee to bring the situation to the attention of the authoritative body within the religious or-

ganization involved. That body would then deal with the matter in accordance with its own ecclesiastical discipline.

The Congress and all Congressional committees should understand clearly that the American doctrine of the separation of

Church and State calls for a permanent and clean-cut division in the lines of responsibility between the two.

*—Adopted by the Advisory Committee of the Executive Committee of the General Council, March 12, 1953.*

## THE RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

**T**HE Rabbinical Council of America at its annual midwinter conference in Lakewood, New Jersey, reaffirms its unalterable opposition to the philosophies of both Fascism and Communism. In countries committed to either Fascism or Communism neither Jews nor Judaism can long survive. The recent history of Jews in Germany and the Soviet Union adequately proves this. Moreover, Judaism's insistence upon the sanctity of human personality creates an irreconcilable conflict between itself and all totalitarian governments, whether of the left or of the right.

We do not share the view that no innocent people and no innocent organizations have suffered because of the present hysteria and witch hunt which has characterized our effort to rid our beloved country of subversives. We yield to no one in our hostility to Communism, but we do not want to destroy democracy even as we fight its enemy. And we believe that many innocent people and even innocent organizations who do not choose to forfeit their God-given right to express themselves freely are being silenced by fear, or exposed to disgrace, or deprived of a livelihood because of the excessive zeal of some lawmaking and law-enforcing agencies, and without the safeguards of the Bill of

Rights. Not only innocent scientists, teachers, and professional men have been affected, but many clergymen of all faiths.

Because of Judaism's insistence upon the fundamental dignity of the human personality, the Rabbinical Council of America views with alarm the growing threat to this value within our beloved country, the U.S.A., and we call upon all other organizations representing the clergy in our midst, be they Jewish, Catholic, or Protestant, to co-ordinate their efforts and work together with respect to the elimination of this threat.

The preservation of democratic values and institutions in our country is a responsibility we share with all Americans and particularly with the American clergy no matter what their theological differences, and it is the consensus of this midwinter conference that the Executive Committee of the Rabbinical Council of America shall extend itself to initiate efforts that will result in the formation of an over-all committee cutting across sectarian lines to co-ordinate the work of all the clergy of our beloved country, to save our way of life from its enemies both foreign and domestic.

*—Adopted by the Rabbinical Council of America, winter, 1953.*

## STATEMENT BY CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN U. S.

### The Dignity of Man

Every man knows instinctively that he is, somehow, a superior being. He knows he is superior to the land he tills, the ma-

chine he operates, or the animals which are at his service. Even when unable to define this superiority in terms of "honor and dignity," if a man enjoys the fruits of his nobility, he is content and accepts that



status as his due; lacking honor and dignity for any cause, a man is restless, depressed, even rebellious because something proper to him, as a man, is withheld or denied.

The Catholic Church has always taught and defended the natural dignity of every human being. She has preached the burden of individual responsibility and has insisted upon the importance of personal conscience. She has reminded mankind that there is a great division between "things" and "men." She has never forgotten that "things" were made for men and that "men" were made for God.

In thus holding up a mirror to men that they may see their own greatness and realize their personal dignity, the Catholic Church has taught that man's true honor is from God, has been enhanced spiritually by divine grace, and is preserved without degradation only when the honor and dignity of God himself are first maintained.

### **True Roots of Human Dignity**

Man's essential worth derives from a threefold source: from the fact of his creation, from the mode of his existence, and from the nobility of his destiny.

The mere fact that any creature exists at all requires the creative and sustaining power of God. When God exercises this power to summon any possible reality into actual existence, that reality is thereby sealed with value from within. Such a dignity man shares with the animal and material world around him.

But his special type of existence confers on man a special claim to honor. Though immersed in a universe of fleeting and random sensations, he is endowed with an intellect able to pierce the flux of passing images and discover beneath them enduring patterns of truth. Though subjected to the pressures of his environment, and a prey to unthinking appetites, he is endowed with a self-determining will capable of choosing wisely within the framework of law.

Intellect and will, then, are man's distinctive adornments. It is their distinctive role to allow a finite creature to grasp truth consciously and to choose goodness freely, and thus to mirror the infinite Creator who is conscious Truth and absolute Goodness.

Since those days of Christ on earth, no man lives by his body alone, nor by the natural powers of his soul alone; every man is sanctified, made holy, made more worthy and more honorable by the enjoyment of the special spiritual life which flows from the cross, or by the possibility that this life will one day be his, to raise him above the limitations of nature, to honor him in unending union with the God who became man.

Such is the triple fountain of man's dignity. To the extent these truths cease to energize the sense of reverence in every man, assaults upon the majesty of the human person must increase and intensify. Heedless that his nature has God for its origin and destiny, and reason and revelation for its divinely commissioned guide, man will do what no other creature can—he will deny his true nature and will destroy all that is good within himself.

### **Man's Dignity and Society**

The practical social theory of the last century enthroned the individual but not the person. An individual can be a thing: as for instance an individual tree; but in virtue of his rational soul, a person is more than a thing. Yet the depersonalized view of man gained ascendancy, and generated a society which was a crisscross of individual egotism, and in which each man sought his own.

Against this error our century has seen a reaction which has sought to overcome the isolation of man from man by imposing upon rebellious individuals a pattern of compulsory and all-embracing state organization, with unlimited power in the hands of civil government.

The Christian concept of man, however, is that he is both personal and social.

As a person he has rights independent of the state; as a member of society he has social obligations. Parents and society contribute to the making of a man, hence man is indebted to the social order. At the same time, since his soul comes not from society but from God, a man has rights which no society may violate.

The state is a creature of man, but man is a creature of God; hence the state exists for man, not man for the state.

### **Man's Dignity and Liberty**

The Christian view, then, avoids the opposing extremes of individualism and collectivism, both of which are grounded on false concepts of liberty—either the unfettered liberty of individualism, which gives the “individual” the right to ignore society; or the unfettered liberty of dictatorship, which gives the government the right to ignore the person by absorbing him into a race or class, thus destroying his freedom of choice.

The false liberty of individualism wrecks society by defining freedom as individual license; the false liberty of dictatorship wrecks humanity by defining freedom as the right of the dictator to nullify the person—a right which he claims to derive from social necessity.

Concerning the results of such false notions of liberty, Leo XIII issued these warnings:

“The true liberty of human society does not consist in every man doing what he pleases, for this would simply end in turmoil and confusion, and bring on the overthrow of the state. . . . Likewise, liberty does not consist in the power of those in authority to lay unreasonable and capricious demands upon their subjects, a course which would be equally criminal, and would lead to the ruin of the commonwealth.”

Liberty in political life may be described as the condition in which the individual finds himself unhampered in the exercise of his rights.

Liberty, however, is something more than a political phenomenon as some disciples of free enterprise maintain. It is something more mature than that dream of rights without responsibilities which historic liberalism envisioned; it is certainly different from that terrorism of responsibilities without rights which Communism imposes.

It is something wiser than free thought, and something freer than dictated thought. For freedom has its roots in man's spiritual nature. It does not arise out of any social organization, or any constitution, or any party, but out of the soul of man.

Hence to the whole tradition of the Western world, liberty does not come essentially from improved conditions of living, either political or economic, but is rather the spring out of which better conditions must flow. A free spirit creates free institutions; a slave spirit permits the creation of tyrannical ones.

### **Man's Dignity and Economics**

Closely connected with freedom and human dignity is the right of private property.

On the question of private property the aforementioned misconceptions of liberty beget two other extremes: first, the belief that a man's right to property is absolute, and that he may do with it what he pleases, without regard for the moral law or social justice; and, secondly, the reactionary error of Communism, which denies all personal rights and lodges all property in the hands of the state.

The Christian position maintains that the right to property is personal, while the use of property is also social. Unrestrained capitalism makes its mistake by divorcing property rights from social use; Communism hits wide of the mark by considering social use apart from personal rights.

Much of our economic restlessness, however, is the festering of man's wounded dignity. Karl Marx himself was perceptive

enough to see that "democracy is based on the principle of the sovereign worth of the individual, which, in turn, is based on the dream of Christianity that man has an immortal soul." (Marx-Engels Historical-Critical Edition, Karl Marx Institute, Moscow, Volume I, Number I, page 590.)

Ignoring the testimony of both reason and revelation and believing the "dream" to be only a dream, modern men have tended to concentrate almost exclusively on economic security and to pursue it at times with the fervor of religious devotion.

But the exclusive dependence on economic security and social reform to right the wrongs of mankind is by no means confined to Marxism. It affects the thought of great masses of men who reject the fundamental tenets of Marxism.

The position of the Church relative to the economic order is based on the principle that the rights man possesses as an individual and the function he fulfills in society are inseparable. Many of the rights of the individual depend upon the function he fulfills in society.

Capital and labor from this point of view are related and made inseparable by the common good of society. This is a prime principle of social justice.

### **Man's Dignity and Education**

In transmitting culture from generation to generation, it is the purpose of education to safeguard and develop the dignity of man.

At the end of the eighteenth century our first President spoke of religion and morality as indispensable supports of political prosperity.

At the end of the nineteenth century our highest court declared that "the reasons presented affirm and reaffirm that this is a religious nation."

What is true of our political prosperity and our nation is true as well of our Western culture in general. Yet everywhere modern education is being drained of moral content through the movement which

is known as secularism. It has been well said that the education of the soul is the soul of education.

Therefore, when education tries to thrive in a religious and moral vacuum, and does not aspire to impart a set of principles and a hierarchy of values, it degenerates into a deadening juxtaposition of facts.

And even worse. For though it tries to thrive in such a vacuum, education can never really be neutral in practice. It has been truly said that "men must be governed by God or they will be ruled by tyrants."

Similarly, education must inculcate a religious and moral outlook, or it will inculcate a materialistic one. And there is no word for "dignity" in the vocabulary of materialism.

### **Conclusion**

Every day in holy mass, Almighty God is addressed as he who wondrously established the dignity of man and restored it more wondrously still. Only by regaining our reverence for God can we of America in the twentieth century rediscover both our own value and the solid basis on which it rests.

We must at the same time expend every effort to see that this dignity is reflected in our sense of decency, made aware of itself by education, nurtured by society, guarded by the state, stabilized by private ownership, and exercised through creative activity.

The alternative is increasing chaos. The words of a contemporary historian of culture may serve to summarize the issues at stake:

"Unless we find a way to restore the contact between the life of society and the life of the spirit, our civilization will be destroyed by forces which it has had the knowledge to create but not the wisdom to control."

—*Issued by the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States, November 21, 1953.*

## FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

### General Assembly Pronouncements

THE 166th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. gave overwhelming approval to the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action. The Report was a magnificent document of record-breaking length (11,000 words) which dealt with issues in the field of international affairs, freedom and civil liberties, racial and cultural relations, Indian affairs, agriculture and rural life, industrial relations, alcohol, housing, juvenile delinquency, gambling, narcotics, and education.

Great emphasis was given to problems in the field of international relations. Strong continuing support was urged for the United Nations. As to Charter review, the General Assembly urged that "no step be taken that would weaken the UN as an instrument for peace." A forthright position was taken against Constitutional changes such as those recently advocated by Mr. Bricker of Ohio. Significant statements were made about disarmament and the H-Bomb, international economic policies, colonialism (including the Indo-China problem), the Arab-Israel issue, refugee resettlement, and needed amendments to the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

The section on freedom and civil liberties began with a strong statement about Communism as the greatest present "international threat to human freedom." The Assembly stated that "no system of life can be reconciled with Christian faith that denies God, claims absolute authority over the minds, bodies, and spirits of men, that denies the work of persons, and interprets truth in terms of convenience, or that naively dreams of achieving a transformed utopian society without transforming sinful men." The General Assembly in this section expressed its concern "that attitudes of fear, suspicion, and unrest are combining in an unholy alliance to establish a pattern of conformity within the community and the nation." It deplored the appearance of persons in both private and public life who "stir up waves of passion and hysteria upon which they ride to positions of privilege and power."

One of the most significant sections of the Pronouncements was



that dealing with racial and cultural relations. In the light of the recent Supreme Court decisions, the Assembly called upon churches to eliminate every vestige of discrimination in their own life and practice.

The section of the Pronouncements dealing with agriculture embodies recommendations developed in a study conference on agriculture and rural life held in Washington in February under the sponsorship of the Department of Social Education and Action. This section includes significant statements about agricultural surpluses, migratory farm labor, farm price policies, and conservation and development of natural resources.

We have time and space to mention only a few of the many highlights of the 1954 Social Pronouncements of the General Assembly. In mentioning even these few parts of the Pronouncements we run the risk of seeming to minimize the importance of other sections. We can only urge that every reader of SOCIAL PROGRESS examine the full text of the Pronouncements. Write to the Department of Social Education and Action or to the nearest Presbyterian Distribution Service for your copy.

## The Supreme Court Decision

WE RECEIVE with humility and thanksgiving the recent decision of our Supreme Court, ruling that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional—with humility because action by our highest court was necessary to make effective that for which our Church has stood in principle; with thanksgiving because the decision has been rendered with wisdom and unanimity.”

With these words, the 166th General Assembly introduced its Pronouncement concerning racial and cultural relations. The Assembly went on to urge all Christians to assist in preparing their communities, psychologically and spiritually, for carrying out the full implications of the Supreme Court's decision. The Assembly pointed out that racial integration must be indivisible in character, that teachers as well as pupils should be accorded full opportunity within the school system on the basis of ability and merit, without reference to race.

The General Assembly then went on to say that the Supreme Court decision makes it imperative that the Church proceed with all possible haste to eliminate racial restrictions within its own life—it called upon Christians to *work* for, not *wait* for, a church and a society in which there is no racial segregation. The Assembly urged that local churches should do more than

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merely announce to the community a policy of open membership. Sessions, ministers, and church members should take the initiative in communicating the claim of Christ to every person within reach of their churches.

The Supreme Court action, the General Assembly pointed out, is particularly relevant to the situation which still exists in a few of our Presbyterian-related institutions of higher education. The Assembly urged that, where policies now exist which prohibit the admission of students because of race, action be taken immediately to abolish these policies. It was further recommended that in the procurement of faculty members, colleges and seminaries should seek to become racially inclusive.

The General Assembly went on to urge governing boards of Church-related institutions—such as hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged—to re-examine policies and practices of admission, residence, and employment, and where necessary to adjust these policies so as to comply with the spirit of our Church's position. It would seem that presbyteries and synods that have relationships with these institutions, however tenuous these connections may be, should do all they can to eliminate discrimination in the policies and practices of these institutions. It would seem appropriate in some cases for the judicatory to indicate a date (two or three years hence) after which, if an institution has not renounced discriminatory policies and practices, it shall no longer have a Church-related status.

## Concerning the Minute Women

IN THE April issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS there was a statement, on page 29, to the effect that the Massachusetts Minute Women, "recently" listed by the Attorney General as subversive, was a subsidiary group of the Minute Women in the U.S.A.

This was a misstatement. There is no connection and never has been between these two organizations. The Massachusetts Minute Women for Peace, we now know, is a small Communist-front organization which has been active in the vicinity of Boston. The Minute Women of the U.S.A., on the other hand, is distinctly, even extremely, anti-Communist in its purpose and program. It has state chapters but no "subsidiary" groups. The editor of SOCIAL PROGRESS alone is responsible for carelessly assuming that the similarity of name connoted a relationship.

There are many occasions when we cannot agree at all with what the Minute Women of the U.S.A. say, yet we believe that they have the right to

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exist and to propagate their ideas. To refer to them as a "hate group," as we have done, is perhaps unwarranted. However, we believe their attacks on the United Nations and on many liberal movements have often been excessive. The last two General Assemblies have warned our churches against misleading assaults upon the United Nations and its agencies. This Department is mandated to counsel the churches in this matter, and this we shall continue to do.

## Christians Are Citizens

THE general theme of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is citizenship. The theme is related to the program emphasis in the April-June, 1954, issue of *Crossroads*, the fine Presbyterian study and program magazine for adults. We heartily commend William Miller's article in *Crossroads*, "Ground Rules for Political Campaigns," and the program suggestions based on it.

In this issue we are proud to present an article by Dr. James H. Robinson, well-known minister of The Church of the Master in New York, on religion in politics and government. This is based upon his experience last fall when he was a candidate for an important political office in New York City.

The second article is by Jerry Voorhis of Chicago. The title is "The Christian's Duty." Mr. Voorhis for ten years prior to 1940 was an outstanding member of the United States Congress. Since that time he has been executive director of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. He is a valuable member of important units of the National Council of Churches as a lay representative from the Episcopal Church.

"The Life of the Party" is by Kathryn H. Stone, a former vice-president of the League of Women Voters. Participation in party decisions on the local and precinct levels is a side of Christian responsibility which many of us have too long neglected.

The 1954 Labor Sunday Message, adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches, appears on pages 16 and 17. Many churches will want to make their plans for this important day before vacation.

We present a splendid article by Dr. Robert D. Bulkley, of the Presbyterian-Congregational Church in Corvallis, Oregon, entitled "It's Good If It Will Defeat Communism." This is based on a sermon used by Dr. Bulkley a few months ago and represents social action preaching in the best Presbyterian tradition.

—Clifford Earle

# Religion in Politics

By JAMES H. ROBINSON, *Minister, The Church of the Master, New York. A Presbyterian pastor speaks out of his own experience in a political campaign*

THE state of corrupt conditions in much of our politics and government has increasingly led many of our citizens to the false assumption that religion and religious leaders have no place in their midst. One often hears it said by the "best people" that the dirt of ruthless politics and the cynicism of politicians creates an atmosphere into which no religious man should enter, or, if he does, that he cannot maintain his honesty and integrity.

It is, of course, true that there is very little idealism in much of our politics and that a great number of people work at it and eventually enter government service for entirely selfish motives which have little or no relationship to the common good. It is also true as I have recently witnessed by personal experience that men and women can mask their real motives in the intensity of a political campaign less effectively than they can in almost any other area of life.

Such a condition is a serious indictment on a religious and democratic society, a responsibility which all of us must share because the government of a democratic society is derived from the consent of the gov-

erned. If much of our politics and government is as bad as we say, and often it is even much worse from place to place than many of us know, then all the more reason why religious leaders, the institutions they have evolved, and the spiritual forces and the idealism they represent, should be injected at the very heart of politics and government. However, I seriously doubt that pastors active in a parish ministry ought to hold public office unless they take a leave from the church while doing so. Any other course, it seems to me, would do a great injustice to society and even greater injustice to the church. It should be the religious leader's duty to help to set the high moral standards by which all acts of government are measured and public servants guide their actions, for "righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

**Religion in its essential** nature touches human life and relationships at every point. It is a rather shallow and superficial view of religion that limits it to a mere formal expression of individual and perpendicular relationship to the divine Creator for



the ultimate end of salvation without any bearing upon the problems which most deeply trouble our society. Strange, but true—the fanatical religious person who wants to eradicate the influence of religion from politics and government arrives at the same conclusion to which the corrupt politician and the unfaithful government servant has already come for wholly different reasons. The former, unintentionally, by his failure to bear witness to the truth of religion in all life efforts unconsciously aids the latter in his evil and insidious designs. The waning of religious influence in politics and government always creates in its train a spiritual vacuum which inevitably brings spiritual impoverishment, cynicism, and corruption in society.

**Our most crucial social problems** are basically religious problems. Man may not be a product of the environment solely, but a bad environment limits the chances of every man in obtaining his God-given possibilities, and in many cases, as our courts and penal institutions more than adequately testify, an unfortunate environment destroys God's greatest creation—man. God does not change the environment, but he puts right motives and the fire of desire in the heart of men as his instruments to change the environment—that his Kingdom may come to earth. Indeed, there can be

no personal salvation apart from social salvation.

When we are dissatisfied with what we are and the level which our society has attained in the light of what we believe ought to be; when we ask how we can improve our society, and when we work for security for the people of our city, state, or nation, we are unconsciously witnessing to the underlying religious basis to all life. We take our stand, not because something is good, but because it is altogether right.

It is most difficult, if not impossible, to think of a single great advancement in enlightened government or social progress on the American scene that did not arise out of a profound religious inspiration. The Point Four program of technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas of the earth was sold to former President Truman by two great Christians—Horace Holmes, a layman and agricultural expert from Tennessee, and a missionary, Frank Laubach. When our nation became a sanctuary for the oppressed and a haven for the homeless, it did so out of a religious conviction of the worth of all men in the sight of God.

Democracy comes from within committed and dedicated individuals. Democracy is the ultimate worth of all men as both creatures of and co-workers with God in the unfinished task of achieving a better world. It takes no less to defend, im-

prove, and extend the high ideals of this basically religious principle of government than it took the Pilgrim Fathers who laid the foundation for it on these shores three hundred years ago.

**In American society** politics and government are nearly synonymous. In fact, politics is government. Politics is the way we write our laws, elect our officials, create our services, organize our protection, handle our collective problems of welfare, and govern ourselves. We simply cannot have good government without good politics. But good politics depend upon good men. It is the duty of religious institutions and their leaders to prepare such leaders and to inspire and undergird them.

Many of our ablest and best people refuse to work in politics and shy away from public service because they are afraid of contamination. Many ministers and religious persons have no dealing with politicians because they are afraid of association and they dislike the political methods. Such attitudes and lack of positive straightforward acceptance of civic responsibility is a denial of Christian optimism.

If we do not believe that good persons can go into politics either as lay or professional workers and make a profound influence for good upon them without themselves being corrupted, then we simply do not believe our religious protestations

about good overcoming evil. We cannot extricate ourselves from some share in the responsibility for what happens in politics and government even when we take no direct part in them. By our refusal to act in any given situation where great issues and principles are at stake, we unconsciously throw our weight on whichever side is the strongest contender. Unwittingly we often help the worst side or the least desirable cause. Neutrality in this life is seldom an honorable position. As was written a long time ago, we are inextricably "bound in the bundle of life."

Criticism of failures and protest about corruption are not the limits of religious participation in politics and government. Mere abstract goodness is not enough. Citizens in a democratic society, when faced with overwhelming problems, are never justified in refusing to do the good they can simply because they cannot do all the good they would like to do.

The privilege of the ballot is so great in a free society that it becomes almost a sacred obligation. Moreover, it is rooted in the precious religious heritage of our Judaeo-Christian theology—the ultimate and equal worth of persons in the sight of God. Unhappily, far too large a segment of our citizens take this privilege and obligation too lightly. Campaigns are costly and, therefore, susceptible to the influ-

ence of those who have money for ulterior motives, because all kinds of gimmicks must be employed to arouse the citizens to do what is needed to preserve their liberties and to govern themselves.

A very much mistaken notion is widely current in our time among those who are concerned enough to vote. It is the fallacious assumption that a citizen does his full duty when he votes in the general election. Most of us do not bother with the primary election at all, although this is the place where one can pass upon the fitness of candidates. And an even more important place, where citizens can exert the greatest influence, is at the grass-roots level of the district organization, or to use a much abused but more realistic term, the district clubhouse.

I hope for a time in America when every school child, every high school and college youth, will have the opportunity for courses in practical politics as well as civics and govern-

ment; when churches through their social concern and summer conferences for youths and adults will lead their members to a higher religious conception of their secular government; when men and women will really know how to split their vote to make the choice on the fitness of the candidate and not vote blindly for the party machine; when voters will give at least as much attention to Constitutional amendments and other such matters which come before them as they do to the candidates; when the citizens will so conduct their political machinery that the politician will no longer be an enigma, and the finest and most worthy among us will count it an honor to work at the level of the clubhouse.

God expects many things of us, and most certainly he expects each of us to apply His righteous will toward everything that affects the happiness, dignity, and security of our society.

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## New Study on Segregation

A timely and encouraging picture of how many communities have successfully ended segregation is given in a 25-cent pamphlet, *Segregation and the Schools*, published by the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th Street, New York, N. Y. The pamphlet is a summary of the Ashmore Report, which is a historical and documentary study financed by the Ford Foundation, dealing with racial integration in Southern schools.

The Ashmore Report, as an objective appraisal, the pamphlet points out, took no partisan stand on segregation. The facts presented in it, however, are useful to people in every part of the country who are concerned about bi-racial education.

# The Christian's Duty

By JERRY VOORHIS, *Member of the General Committee, Department of the Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches. A former Congressman from California gives his views on the need for Christian participation in politics*

IN PAST ages Christians have changed the course of history. They have believed it their duty not only to convert individual lives to a following of Christ but to stamp the will of God upon whole nations and their institutions. If Christian teaching and preaching did not convert ancient Rome, it is nonetheless certain that Christian martyrdom so shook the evil of that Empire as to hasten its fall and transformation. It was Christian revulsion that inspired the drives that ended human slavery.

Life is of one piece. Christ tells us, "Whoever would save his life will lose it; and whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel's will save it." He meant the whole of life, not part of it.

In recent decades millions of Christians have been pretending that they could divide their lives. Their family life, much of their social life, their "Sunday" life—these they were impelled to dedicate to their Lord and Master. But their business life was different. And as for their political life—well, either there just

wasn't any, or else it was regarded as a realm into which the influence of Christ was hardly expected to enter. Those few courageous, foresighted, and thoroughgoing Christians who saw their challenge and entered actively into politics found themselves at best not fully supported by their fellow Christians and at worst criticized for "dabbling in so dirty a business."

But "politics," according to the dictionary, means "the science and practice of government." If, to some, it means instead a corruption of the public business, then one reason is that Christians have defaulted in their duty to make the politics of their time what it ought to be.

When we speak of "Christians" in this article we do not mean mere church members. Nor do we use the term to set certain religionists apart from others of different faiths. By "Christian" we mean a person who attempts to apply the teachings and commandments of Christ to all the aspects of his life. We mean a person whose devotion to the will of God is paramount to all other loyalties and influences.



**The influence** of such people upon the political life of our times is necessary to the survival of free institutions, and it may be necessary to the survival of the human race itself. This is so because politics affects our lives today much more deeply than has been the case in some past times. Political decisions affect today the kind of neighborhoods in which children will grow up, the fate of the natural resources with which God has endowed our nation, the vigor with which vice and crime shall be combated, the quality and character of the education our children are to receive. And it will be political decisions that will determine whether bombs will destroy all major cities of the world or whether we shall succeed in building a world at peace.

For Christians to withhold their influence upon such decisions is unthinkable. Each Christian must decide for himself, in the light of his best conscientious insight, precisely what role he or she ought to play. A certainty is that it can no longer be a wholly negative one. It is certain too that Christians can no longer enter voting booths determined to vote as Republicans or Democrats. They must begin to enter voting booths determined to vote, as nearly as they can find a way to do it, as Christians.

**When enough people** start doing that, the effect for good upon

political parties will be incalculable. For it will mean that these parties will have to attempt to justify their appeals to voters in the eyes of a large religiously motivated group. Generally speaking, our political life has not up to this time been subjected to such an impact.

But sometimes it is hard for a person trying to express his Christian conscience by his vote to make a clear choice. There is often little to choose between candidates and few clear issues in a political contest to be debated from a Christian point of view.

If either of these conditions is true, it is the fault of Christians. It is not their task simply to vote for a "lesser of two evils." It is their task to see to it that there are candidates in as many political contests as possible who are convinced and committed Christians. It is also their task to see to it that Christian issues are injected into every political campaign until we have actually built the brotherhood of man on earth.

We can accomplish this only by persuading Christians, according to the definition given in this article, to undertake the difficult task of running for political office. In some cases it will be ourselves that we should persuade. We can do this only if (1) we know exactly why we are becoming a candidate and just what we hope to accomplish if elected; (2) we have a place in our community life that is a respected one; (3) we

have a natural liking for people with a natural ability to make them like us. More often, of course, it will be a case of Christian groups selecting someone in their town, city, ward, legislative district, or state whom they know to be a convinced Christian and a person with good prospect of winning people.

All too seldom has this sort of thing been done. Especially in state and local government, there is frequently a comparatively worthless incumbent of long tenure who is running for office only because he has never been challenged by a really able opponent. In other cases, particularly in some of the cities, there are supposedly unbeatable officeholders who should be unseated in the public interest. Here of course the task is a far more difficult one. It may not be accomplished in one or even two or three election campaigns. But an aroused group of people with deep convictions can do it in the course of time.

**The real problem** is development of the kind of loyal, relentless, and effective support that candidates of high Christian principle must have if they are to win and hold office. Christian citizens should and undoubtedly can supply this support if they will. Many campaigns have been won by house-to-house calling on the part of wise and able political workers, by telephone campaigns, and similar programs for which hundreds of amateurs are as well

qualified as professional politicians. One hundred Christian people making ten telephone calls an evening for ten evenings would reach ten thousand voting families—enough to decide many an election. And this is only one illustration.

Of course there are many people now in active politics who are entirely worthy of support by Christian citizens. There are parts of the country where one political party or the other is clearly to be preferred by Christian citizens. In such cases the first step for Christians to take is to get busy in the ranks that have already formed.

The second step is to be sure that issues in which Christians should have concern are brought into the open. This is admittedly a field of controversy even among convinced Christians. But it is hard to see how a sincere Christian can fail to recognize an issue on which his choice is clear in the following situations, to select only a few examples:

- Where children are compelled to grow up in slums.
- Where vice, crime, or dishonesty are prevalent.
- Where schools are poor and lacking in support.
- Where gross inequalities of opportunity exist.
- Where monopoly power is unrestrained.
- Where free institutions are not basically strengthened and wisely defended.

These are only examples. They are given to illustrate the fact that there are a great many potential political issues over which Christians should have deep concern. Sometimes they are in the center of controversy today. But many times neither party and no candidates will discuss them unless aroused citizens make it necessary. This, clearly, is a job for Christian citizens.

Another duty rests heavily upon the Christian in American political life today. This is insistence on fair play. No democracy and no system of free institutions can long survive unless there are some basic rules of the game which neither parties nor candidates can violate with impunity. In very recent years, however, it is hard to find any such rules. It has proven a successful tactic to call one's opponents all manner of ugly names and even to bring utterly false and actually ridiculous charges against them.

When such things happen, Christians as individuals, and the Church itself as an institution, have a clear duty to speak out. They have the duty to say, "While we are not necessarily supporting Mr. So-and-So, the things that his opponent has said about him are untrue and should be

retracted." As long as "dirty" tactics succeed it will be hard to induce the political organizations to abandon them. It is the duty of Christians to see that such tactics do not succeed. Unless some group performs this long-run service to our democratic institutions, bitterness will become so deep and suspicion so widespread that our democratic processes will be unable to work. There must be room in America for divergence of political opinion without accusation of disloyalty. Only in dictatorships is loyalty to the nation confused with acceptance of but one set of beliefs.

For Christians to make this clear may well be their most important political service in the years immediately ahead. It is a service worthy of their calling, because only in an atmosphere of true freedom and only under a regime of genuine democracy can voluntary religious organizations flourish. A Church that dares not speak in criticism and judgment of an existing regime is no true Church at all. Religious loyalty is a primary and overriding loyalty, never a secondary one. It is a Christian duty therefore to maintain the kind of society and the kind of political institutions that make such loyalty possible.

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### Texas County Moves Forward

Hale County, Texas, recently selected a Negro barber to sit on a jury to try a \$20,000 damage suit resulting from an automobile collision. This was the first time a Negro had ever been called for such a service in that county.

# The Life of the Party

By KATHRYN H. STONE. *A former First Vice-President of the League of Women Voters explains the importance of citizen co-operation to achieve more perfect government*

THE life of a political party depends on you and me. You can be the "life of the party," or you can let a few old stalwarts carry on for you. If you do the latter, you have really no grounds for complaint. Your own sins of omission will be part of the cause of whatever it is you do not like.

## Two-Party System

Our kind of representative democracy depends upon the two-party system. It is the best system yet devised for selecting candidates for public office. Government cannot be carried on by a multitude of people. The two parties are our way of finding out what most people want.

Two major parties, pretty well matched for strength, compete for a majority of the votes and a majority of the policy-making posts in our Government. One party has to produce at least enough agreement and unity to stay in power. The party "out of power" is the watchdog and critic. It is constantly trying to come back into power.

This year, 1954, is a Congressional year. It will be a big test for the party in power. The party out of

power will try to win a majority of the seats in Congress and to consolidate its position in order to win the important Presidential election in 1956.

## Begin Now

If you want to participate in this vital process of representative government, the time to start is NOW. The place to begin is in your own precinct and local political subdivision. All over the nation this spring and early summer the two major parties have been holding local caucuses, conventions, primary elections. You can be a member of some of these meetings of the party of your choice, or you can run for a committee post or participate in a primary. Since state laws and party rules vary among the forty-eight states, you will have to find out exactly how it is done in your own locality, but in each case there is a way to become active and effective in party work.

The caliber of your party for the next few years will be largely determined now—this spring and summer. The party leadership chosen this year is likely to be the leadership



that will have the most to say about the nomination of the President in 1956. Delegates to state and national conventions in 1956 will in most instances emerge from the leadership chosen now.

### **Control of Party**

"Aren't parties controlled by the 'machine'?" you ask. Of course they are. They must be. The machine is an organization for getting things done. It has rules; it holds meetings and conventions. It nominates candidates. It raises money to put on campaigns. If your party organization is dominated by a "boss" or a small clique, whose fault is it? The only cure for boss-dominated machines is citizen-dominated machines—call them organizations if you like the term better.

When was the last precinct meeting of your party held? Did you attend? When will your party committeemen and committeewomen be elected? By means of caucus, convention, or primary election? Are you encouraging good people to run for these posts? Or are you willing to run yourself?

Perhaps you claim that you are an "independent" voter and proud of it. If so, you are saying that you do not mind being deprived of participation in the most basic decisions of political life—those which determine the direction and quality of American government. You are also saying that you are willing to let

others, sometimes a mere handful, select your candidates for public office.

Were you one of those who watched with some measure of disgust the national political conventions of 1952? Would you like to see the conventions of 1956 conducted in a more rational, orderly, and deliberative manner? You cannot achieve this goal by shying away from party participation.

A resurgence of rank-and-file strength in both parties; a willingness to participate in local party work, to attend caucuses and conventions, to help to finance party efforts, to make party participation "the thing to do" rather than the thing to be frowned on—these form the surest basis for change.

With such a change of attitude, and with increased participation in regular party work, whatever can be agreed on can be accomplished. Parties can revise their own rules, customs, and habits of procedure. Methods of selecting delegates to state and national nominating conventions can be made more democratic. National party leadership can change the rules of the conventions to make them smaller bodies and to encourage more rational deliberation.

Up and down the political line—at every level—the quality of party activity depends on the vigor and participation of party members.

The United States has grown strong through the development of

the two-party system. An overwhelming majority of our citizens profess their belief in it. Imperfect though it may be, nearly all political scientists believe that it is basic to self-government as we know it in the U.S.A.

If you want to strengthen our kind of government, find out about the party of your choice in your locality. When and how will your party committee be selected? What is the political calendar of important events coming up? How can you participate?

### Suggested Reading

Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund publications (25 cents each), 461 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.:

*Choosing the President of the U.S.A.*

*Self-government, U.S.A.*

League of Women Voters of the United States publications (10 cents each), 1026 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.:

*You Can Be the Life of the Party*  
*What's the U.S.A. to You?*

How?

When?

Where?

1. How do I become a voter? Where? When?
2. Can I change my party affiliation, once I have joined?
3. What are the duties of the local party committee?
4. Are my state committeeman and committeewoman elected by me? When? What are their duties?
5. How are my national committeeman and committeewoman selected? What are their duties?
6. How and when are my Congressmen nominated? Primary? Convention? Other method?
7. What percentage of my fellow citizens are registered as voters? What percentage voted in the last primary local? (state?)

The answers to this quiz can be secured in various ways in each community. Following are some suggestions:

1. Organize discussion groups.
2. A "One Day School of Politics" could be held, at which time the answers to the questions could be discussed.
3. Interested groups to contact for co-operation are: church groups, P.T.A., Y.W.C.A., Public Affairs Committee, Woman's Club Civics Committee, Business and Professional Women, etc.

# Labor Sunday Message, 1954

## Our Churches—the

**O**N LABOR DAY, America pays respect to the progress and achievements of its workers, extols the dignity and importance of work, and revitalizes the tradition and ideal of people working together for the common good.

Over the years the Labor Sunday Message has been primarily concerned with workers and their representative organizations. Therefore it is to them that this Message is primarily directed. We wish all workers well, extend to them our greetings, and point out what the Christian effort toward the ideal relationship among human beings will mean for all persons.

This relationship is described by the word "community," in the sense of the responsible society. In "community" people live and work together for the betterment of all. They do not contend to get the better of one another. Striving for material goals alone, to the exclusion of spiritual and moral values, leads to family discord and industrial bitterness. However, to struggle for such elementary needs as food, clothing, and shelter, for a recognized status in society, and for justice, is the right and duty of all men. The best hope that material requirements will be met is steady advancement toward the Christian ideal of brotherhood under God in relations between person and person, person and group, and between groups, including labor and management.

**Upon Everyone Who Works**—Members of Christian churches are bound by their commitment to Jesus Christ. The obligation to strive under God for good human relationships rests alike upon everyone who works, whether with mind or muscle, whether in the home, in the shop, in the office, or on the farm. While having different functions, labor, management, and owners are nevertheless under the same moral imperative to seek the goal of Christian "community."

The idea of "community" in daily work requires full acceptance of the worth of the individual. This involves the right of workers to organize in order to obtain a living wage and some measure of security for themselves and their families. Injustice toward workers should everywhere give way to consideration for them as persons. Where respect for personality and for group action prevails do individuals have full opportunity to grow.

Collective bargaining where it exists is a significant part of the worker's

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## e of Economic Life

experience of "community." Through its stresses and strains equities can be hammered out so that the values for one side are joined to the values for the other, and common values are realized. As a method by which values are mutually distributed, collective bargaining advances toward the goal of good human relations.

**The Place for Security and Power**—Security has similar significance. Our economic system should afford for all the opportunity to work so as to remove the fear of unemployment and poverty. Labor unions today represent security to their members. Loyalty to their unions is so deeply rooted in the minds of many workers that security in employment lies for them in reliance upon union activity. This desire for security leads unions to take up such issues as regular employment, the buying power of workers, and the effect of the automatic factory upon employment.

Freedom from want, whether want is caused by sickness, old, age, or unemployment, is important both for the well-being of its members and the stability of society. Wide contrast in the security of different groups of people blocks the path of those who seek Christian human relationships.

Power, responsibly used, has a proper place in "community." This holds equally for management and labor. Power can destroy or power can create. Christian teaching does not countenance the use of power for selfish interest, but it does encourage the use of united strength for the common good as an expression of Christian love. The use of power to win in industrial conflicts must be disciplined by the desire for what is best for all concerned. The fruits of victory and defeat are often pride and resentment that lead to further strife. Yet management and workers need each other, and no enterprise can exist without their co-operation. Not total victory but mutual adjustment should be sought by each.

**Good Faith Always Essential**—Consequently, good faith is always essential. Mutual respect for rights, mutual acceptance of obligation, mutual trustworthiness and good will are qualities which Christians should infuse into all situations where labor and management meet.

Christian churches can be the conscience of our economic life. In interpreting the mind of Christ to workers and to management they can foster the moral climate in which "community" will thrive.



# It's Good If It Will

## Defeat Communism

By ROBERT D. BULKLEY, *Minister, The Federated Churches, Presbyterian-Congregational, Corvallis, Oregon*

PEOPLE used to "do good" in order to get to heaven. They were sure that if they did enough golden deeds they would end up walking the golden streets. In flagrant disregard of the fact that Protestantism had its birth in a revolt against "salvation by works" and claims as its text "The just shall live by faith," they took it for granted that the key to paradise is available to him who piles up enough merit through the performance of righteous acts. The doing of good deeds had to be justified by the eternal reward it procured for the doer. The motive for doing right was thought to be "getting right with God."

Now we think we have seen through that sort of attitude. We have become aware that when we do good for the sake of a selfish reward we aren't really doing good at all, and that it doesn't matter that that reward is postponed until the future life and described in the language of piety. We have become extremely unhappy, or at least the more sensitive ones among us have, at the thought that we might require the extrinsic motivation of future pay-

ment in heaven in order to entice us to live a life of integrity and useful service here and now. It isn't that we disbelieve in heaven or a life beyond the grave. It's just that we don't want to interpret it in terms of reward for living a good life here, and therefore in terms of a bargaining arrangement with God. Some folks outside of the Church are quite self-righteous in their criticism of Christians at this point.

BUT unfortunately the problem isn't readily solved. For we seem so desperately to need extrinsic rewards for righteousness that we invent new ones when the old ones will do no longer. Right now we have a real one! Folks used to do good in order to get into heaven. Now they do good in order to defeat Communism.

I don't like Communism. I would be every bit as unhappy in a Communist state as would Senator McCarthy himself. Indeed, I suspect I might even be a good bit unhappier, for he would only have to adapt himself to another form of authoritarianism, whereas I just don't like any

sort of authoritarianism at all—either his or Uncle Joe's. But I resent deeply the assumption that the only thing that will make me do good is fear of Communism and the desire to defeat or destroy it. I object most strenuously to the implication that the Christian people of America and Europe will act justly and in the spirit of brotherhood toward the masses of mankind struggling toward a better day only if the threat of Communism is dangled over their heads. If that is true, then we are not acting Christianly at all. We are only seeking to save our skins!

And yet it's an old story how Marshall aid was getting nowhere in Congress so long as its purpose was stated in terms of putting a sick and unstable world, torn by the ravages of six years of war, back on its feet. Only when it was presented as a bulwark against Communism did our noble Senators and Representatives hasten to record their votes on the side of humanity. And it isn't quite so old a story how wheat for the starving people of India was held up for weeks and months while Congress hoped Nehru would come to terms, and then was finally provided only when the shipment or promised shipment of a small amount of grain from the Soviet Union threatened to upset the applecart and give the Communists credit for the compassion we appeared to lack.

Why should a Christian country need such prodding?

WE ARE bidden to stop lynchings and eliminate discrimination against American Negroes because, if we don't, the Communists will use it against us with the dark-skinned peoples of the world. We are told that the Point Four plan is a good one, not because it will aid in raising the standard of living in underdeveloped areas, but because it will get us there ahead of the Communists. One of the early programs of the National Council of Churches' radio release, "Let There Be Light," as valuable as it was, left the impression that the major contribution of Frank Laubach's literacy campaigns is "to win the war of minds" against the Communists.

Who would do good just because people happen to be in desperate need and we have the capacity to help them? Who would open his eyes upon the two thirds of the world that is ill-clad, ill-fed, ill-housed, and put forth a hand to do anything about their plight unless he hoped to get something out of it for himself? What nation would concern itself with the problems of another nation unless it appeared to be "in its own interest" to do so? Who would do good unless he thought to get to heaven thereby, or to escape hell? Who would do good unless he could deal another blow at the Communists? Who would give himself out of his compassionate concern for other people and out of his love for God, and for no other reason?

Well, who would? Perhaps we are just so constructed that, if we give up doing good for a reward on the farther side of death, we won't do good at all unless for a reward on this side of the great divide. We may have to have Communists so that we'll be bludgeoned into doing good. If they didn't exist, we might have to invent them as a source of motivation for our own living.

Perhaps all these things are true, but I, for one, don't believe it!

THE apostle Paul, an authority in such matters, once wrote of the "fruit of the Spirit." What might that fruit be? What might be expected to issue forth from the life of one who has been touched by the Spirit of the living Christ? You know the list: love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control. These are the virtues of the Christian. They are not units of bargaining power with which one purchases from God eternal happiness. Nor are they units of bargaining power with which one buys a peaceful and untroubled life on earth for oneself and one's friends through the destruction of one's enemies. They are just what Paul said they are—fruit of the Spirit. Because God's love has manifested itself in a man's life, because the wonder of his compassion toward each of his children has been revealed, because a man has been transformed by the mysterious graciousness of God, he

simply cannot help expressing his gratitude to his Father in heaven in a compassionate concern for his brethren upon the earth. The fruit of "love, joy, peace," and all the rest cannot fail to be in evidence if the Spirit is really there, for "no good tree bears bad fruit, nor again does a bad tree bear good fruit."

It is clear then that a Christian does not require an external stimulus in order to exercise justice and to show mercy toward his brother wherever he may be or whatever the color of his skin or the condition of his life. This is a big world, and there are a lot of people in it, and no one of us will ever see more than a comparatively few of his fellow men. Even the most devoted Christian will occasionally need to have his imagination sensitized in order to understand what his brethren far beyond the sea and in other parts of his own land, or even of his own city, are called upon to face as they confront life each day.

BUT when the facts are forced upon his consciousness in such a way that he cannot misunderstand them, he will then do what he can, whether it be his own action as an individual, or assuming his share of the job as a part of a group, or asserting himself as a citizen and making his influence felt in the direction of public policy. Even if there were no Communists on the earth, that is what he would do.

Of course, we do not want Communism to triumph! The very fact of our concern for the well-being of individuals in a material sense would seem to make it unnecessary even to make such a statement. But to tie up our anti-Communism with our Christian responsibility to our fellow men in their need in such a way as to make the latter in any sense dependent upon the former is to place our actions in a definitely sub-Christian context. It is to put ourselves and our own interests in the center of the picture. It is to imply that if it were not for the threat of the Communists, we should be willing to let the oppressed and hungry people of Asia and Africa remain oppressed and hungry, to let the minorities of our own nation remain second-class citizens. It is to use the distresses of hundreds of millions of men and women and children for our own purposes. While the results may be good from the point of view of their well-being, the sort of understanding and deep sympathy which alone can unite men will be no more prevalent than before,

because those whom we have helped will be all too painfully aware that we have done so in our own interest rather than in theirs.

THIS is one of the hours of the world's great need—and opportunity. Peoples who have lain in desolation and hopelessness through long centuries are now striving to share in the bounties of God's world, to discover a new freedom, a new release from poverty and despair. They have every reason to believe that the attainment of at least a part of their purpose is within sight. It is our privilege as American Christians to act in our capacities as individuals, as churchmen, and as citizens of the wealthiest and most powerful nation on earth, to help to bring their hopes to the best sort of realization—not because we are pressured into it by external circumstance and personal or national self-interest, but because our concern and compassionate love and sense of oneness with our brethren reach to all men as men for whom Christ died.

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### 1954 Pronouncements

The new General Assembly Pronouncements are now available in pamphlet form. Social Education and Action chairmen and secretaries who are reporting to summer synods and synodicals, presbyteries and presbyterials, will want to have a supply for distribution. Small quantities will be sent, also, to any ministers who want to distribute them to their congregations or to SEA leaders who would like to plan discussion meetings based on the pronouncements. Send your order to the nearest Presbyterian Distribution Service.



# Sanctuary

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Two years in succession a member of our Presbyterian delegation to the Churchmen's Washington Seminar has been chosen by his Congressman to give the opening prayer in the House of Representatives. The prayers read:

O God our Father, in whom we live and move and have our being, we would begin our common tasks today remembering thee, for we know that without thee we can do nothing and with thee all things are possible.

Forgive us and save us from every selfish and enslaving attitude lest, while we seem to be bearers of light and freedom, we come as rulers of darkness, because we rule apart from thee. O God, who imparteth truth and freedom.

Help us, O God, to seek first thy Kingdom and thy righteousness; that being rooted and grounded in thee, we have a foundation not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

This we pray in the name of Him who came that we might have life and have it abundantly. Amen.

—*Richard A. Dempsey, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Glen Ellyn, Illinois*

Almighty God, thou who art the sovereign ruler of the hearts of men, as we bow in reverence before thee, may thy Spirit fill us with a vibrant awareness of thy abiding presence and eternal vigilance over thy creation.

The people of this nation rejoice that it is theirs to be so represented in the national and international affairs of their democracy, and that by thy ordering it is theirs to be so governed. As these men labor under the responsibility with which they are entrusted, and in these chaotic times of tension, turmoil, and confusion, impart to them the wisdom and ability to perceive that which is true, righteous, and just, and subsequently the courage to act in the light of their knowledge and faith. Ours is a great heritage as a nation and people. God, grant that by our clear thinking and right acting it may be preserved in accordance with thy will.

We seek thy special providence in the life, thought, and deed of our chief executive and those of the executive staff: that through the efforts of these our leaders, our nation may continue to be a nation under thee. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

—*James I. Logan, Jr., Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Chickasha, Oklahoma*

# Christian ACTION

## UN NEWS NOTES

### **A Magna Charta for Refugees**

—One of the great concerns of the UN since its inception has been the welfare and future of the large number of refugees and stateless persons. In 1947 the UN Commission on Human Rights requested a study of their protection and the desirability of a new convention on the subject. A draft text was prepared and unanimously approved by a twenty-six-nation conference which met in Geneva in 1951. Standards of treatment include the right to religious freedom, protection of industrial property, the right to engage in wage-earning employment, or enter into private business activity, or to practice in liberal professions. Refugees are granted the right to create or join nonpolitical and nonprofit associations and trade-unions, and the right to an elementary and high school education. Contracting states are required to issue identity papers, inasmuch as a man without identity is without the legal right to existence. The Convention came into force in April, six countries having ratified it—Australia, Belgium, Denmark, German Federal Republic, Luxembourg, and Norway. Fifteen other

countries have signed, but their legislatures have not yet taken action. This means that the fifteen hundred refugees stranded in the Shanghai area, known as the “difficult cases,” may now be resettled. Places have been found for 318 of them.

### **Political Rights of Women—**

The UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women was adopted by the Seventh Assembly in December, 1952. It has been signed by thirty-three Governments, ratified by three. In 1900 political rights for women were practically unknown. Four states of the U.S.A., two of Australia, and New Zealand had given women political rights. In 1953, the women of sixty countries had full voting rights with men; in seventeen other countries they have no such rights. Twenty-four countries have extended such rights since 1945 when the UN Charter was signed. Most women on the commission will agree that political rights are not in themselves enough and that education in the use of these rights is essential. Lina P. Tsaldaris, delegate of Greece, says that the right to vote in municipal elections at the age of twenty-five was granted in her country in 1929,

and full federal suffrage in 1952. Inspired by the UN Handbook prepared by the Commission on the Status of Women, representatives of six large women's organizations prepared a guidebook for the new Greek voters. Mrs. Helen Skouras, a lawyer, is Greece's first woman member of Parliament. She says to have the right to vote is one thing; to know how to use it is another. Mrs. Isabel Pinto De Vidal is the first woman to be a member of the Uruguayan delegation, though she was among the founders at San Francisco and worked for those articles in the Charter dealing with equal status for women. She says: "Women's rights are an essential feature of human rights. Political rights, however, are not enough to ensure real equality. It is essential that in civil matters women have privileges equal to those of men. Another important aspect of the question is the equality of employment, on which Uruguay can pride itself because of its particularly enlightened legislation." Uruguay has three women Senators and three Deputies in the Lower House.

Denmark has 26 women and 201 men in the Parliament. The Indian Council of States and House of the People has 33 women and 682 men. In Israel, the Knesset consists of 12 women, 108 men. The British House of Commons has 20 women, 605 men; the U.S.A. has in Congress 12 women, 520 men. The first Indian woman to sit in the National Assem-

bly of Venezuela is Aurora Montiel of the Urani tribe. She wears her Indian costume and is allowed to address the group in her tribal language.

Mrs. Badia Afnan, delegate of Iraq, says: "Iraq has not yet granted women electoral franchise, but that reform does not conflict either with my country's religious traditions or with the spirit of the Constitution. All Iraq political parties have included women's suffrage in their programs. Women are found in the legal and medical professions and elsewhere."

**ICAO**—One of the less-known agencies of the UN is the International Civil Aviation Organization. Starting with a few nations toward the end of World War II, it has grown to a membership of fifty-seven nations, six of them not members of the UN—Ceylon, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland. The headquarters are in Montreal, Canada. Its purpose is to develop standard regulations and speed concerning flights around the world, and to set up inspection systems, equalize rates for passengers and freight, and share and expand weather stations. Search and rescue are also included. There are eleven transatlantic airlines co-operating in ICAO. Through agreements and treaties it establishes air rights and duties that aid and extend world trade.

—*Mabel Head, UN Observer*

## ★ *Citizenship* ★

THE Army-McCarthy hearings continue to dominate the Washington scene as we go to press and there seems to be reason for concern by the Administration over the state of its legislative program. With Congressional adjournment slated for sometime between the end of July and the middle of August, there is little chance for the enactment of more than half of what the President requested at the opening of the session in January.

Appropriation bills, however, are in much better shape than is usual at this time, and there is a chance that the major ones will be cleared for the White House prior to or shortly after July 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year. As usual, the record in the House is much better than in the Senate, with respect both to appropriations and to general legislation.

The critical Indo-China situation casts a shadow over all foreign policy matters, and political and military developments in that area will greatly determine legislative results in this field.

If Congressional members of the party in power are to have the advantage of pointing to the enactment of a "progressive, dynamic program" in the elections this fall, the time is running short for its accomplishment.

### **Congressional Investigations**

—At this writing, there seems little chance for the enactment of a code of procedures for investigating committees in this session of Congress. Senator Knowland, Senate majority leader, has stated that the matter should be the first order of business in the session beginning next January. There have been numerous "suggested remedies," but none upon which there seemed general agreement. Senator Prescott Bush (R., Conn.) late in May offered a 2-3-point code of procedure for Congressional committees, saying that "many patriotic Americans have become seriously alarmed at abuses of the investigative power." Another proposal, backed by eighteen Democratic Senators and six Democrats in the House, has also just been introduced. A feature of this proposal is its enforcement machinery. It also sets up six rules governing the organization and operation of committees and five rules for the rights of witnesses. The sponsors said they were prompted by widespread recognition in and out of Congress of "abuses that have seriously damaged the prestige and legitimacy of Congressional investigations."

**Federal Aid to Education**—Despite widespread awareness of the fact that "America is falling behind



rather than catching up with the educational needs of its children" in the words of U.S. Commissioner of Education Brownell, there seems slight chance for major legislation on this matter this session. The Administration's position proposes conferences in each state over a period of the next two years to determine accurate school needs and the availability of local financial help. This would culminate in a general White House Conference where the results of the state studies would be appraised. (SOCIAL PROGRESS, March, 1954.) A bill to set up these conferences has been approved by the House.

A Senate subcommittee completed hearings late in May on Federal aid for school construction. While no bill has been introduced on the basis of these hearings, the chairman of the subcommittee, Senator Cooper (R., Ky.), says he believes that an annual appropriation of \$100 million would be a "good beginning" toward meeting school needs. Hearings in the House on "aid to schools" are scheduled to begin early in June under a subcommittee headed by Rep. McConnell (R., Pa.).

**Housing**—At press time, the Administration had just won a significant victory in receiving Senate approval of its housing program. The Senate included the public housing provision for 140,000 public units in the next four years, which the House had refused to accept when

it passed the bill. The legislation now goes to "conference" where, in view of the large majority in the Senate, 66 to 16, it is believed the House will compromise by restoring authorization for at least part of the public units.

**Social Security**—Another Administration-backed measure, the omnibus bill broadening the social security system, has passed the House after only three hours of general debate and is awaiting Senate action. The vote in the House was 355 to 8, and Senate approval is thought certain.

As passed, the bill would extend coverage to almost 10 million persons not now included in the system. This included farmers and farm workers, domestic servants, professional self-employed persons other than medical doctors, state and local government workers, and ministers. The latter two groups are included only if they so desire.

Benefits are increased for those now retired and those retiring after January 1, 1955. The Social Security tax, now 2 per cent, would be increased to 4 per cent by 1975. Retired persons would be allowed to earn \$1,000 a year in outside income and not lose their Social Security benefits. Maximum annual earnings on which the tax is levied are increased from \$3,600 to \$4,200.

—Helen Lineweaver,  
Washington Office

# About Books

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**The God in You**, by Kermit Eby.  
University of Chicago Press. 161 pp.  
\$2.50.

Kermit Eby was born into a closely knit fellowship of the Church of the Brethren and has remained a part of the fellowship throughout his intensely sensational career. His Indiana childhood, his preaching experience among the Brethren, his teaching from every grade of school to his present professorship in the Division of Social Sciences at Chicago have all contributed to the making of *The God in You*. The book is both an autobiography of Eby and an exposition of the principles and philosophy of the application of the Christian religion to the social problems of our time. By utilizing his experiences in overcoming his own limited attitudes, he permits the reader to learn the meaning of applied religion. Intensely interesting are Eby's descriptions of his prejudices as a Brethren against the Mennonites and other religious groups that did not practice the Brethren way. Similar prejudices had to be overcome as the growing Eby met the larger world of education and industry. Having discovered the un-Christlikeness of provincial and

prejudiced attitudes, he developed a formula that made it possible for him to have fellowship with all groups. Eby has known, and still knows, what it is to be persecuted for righteousness' sake. He has discovered how to apply principles without bowing down and worshipping them. He lives to learn and to adjust and adapt, when necessary. He believes that man, who was created in the image of God, has something of God in him.

This book helps to understand an interesting man and how to enlarge our application of religion to the social order and still keep our souls.

—Earl F. Zeigler

**The Arab World**, by Nejla Iz-zeddin. Henry Regnery Company.  
412 pp. \$6.50.

Surrounded as we are by the marvels of twentieth century civilization, sure of our own wealth and power, proud of our system of education, science, and industry, we tend to think that all values are concentrated in the Western world, particularly in the United States of America. We acknowledge a cultural tie with Europe, we recognize a rival power in Russia, and we are troubled by fast-moving events and rising forces

in the Orient, but we are little aware of that vast area known as "the Arab world" which stretches from Casablanca to Baghdad, from the mountains of Lebanon to the shores of the Persian Gulf.

We do this region less than justice, however, when we dismiss it as the world's poorhouse and think of it as important only for its oil preserves. Dr. Nejla Izzeddin, a scholar and historian of the first order, makes this fact abundantly clear.

An Arab herself, she writes with both a deep love and wide knowledge of her people, their past glories and present awakening. She tells of a golden age when the Arabs brought youth and vigor to an aging world, of a Moslem society in which religion more than any other force molded men's lives and created a classless society. She pictures the growth of science, education, trade, and industry from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, and shows that while the Middle Ages in Europe were the dark ages, in the Arab world they stood out as a luminous period, creative and productive, preserving values that otherwise would have perished.

For centuries afterward, of course, the Arab world went into eclipse. Bad government, sterile conservatism, and foreign oppression half destroyed a great culture, but today it is stirring again, seeking a lost unity, and realizing its strategic place on the international scene.

In her analysis of the current situation, Dr. Izzeddin is a Naguib partisan, showing the new Egyptian leader as one spiritually and intellectually fit for his task and deserving to succeed. Looking at Palestine, she sees the establishment of a Jewish homeland as a vast injustice to the Arabs, and the facts she presents ought to be better known. Of particular interest is her chapter on the Arab woman, integrated in the family, secure in her usefulness, and untouched by the neurotic tendencies of her counterpart in the Western world.

As Dr. William E. Hocking says in his sparkling introduction to the book, there are peoples in the world whom it is our bounden duty to know. There are also peoples whom it is a delight to know. The Arabs qualify on both counts. If you would know them—and it is important that you do—buy or borrow this book, which, to the present reviewer at least, has meant a vastly widened horizon.

—G. Aubrey Young

**Shirt-Sleeve Diplomacy**, by Jonathan B. Bingham. The John Day Company. 303 pages. \$4.00.

The author is now a practicing attorney in New York City. He was formerly Deputy Administrator of the Technical Cooperation Administration from 1951 to 1953.

This is a book about Point Four, what it is, what it has done, and a

troubled query about its future.

Point Four is not a "do-good" program. It is a program designed to help people to help themselves. It distributes know-how through technical experts sent to underprivileged areas.

To those who think we are pouring money into areas of need and making parasites of others, read the record of Brazil, pages 96 and on, as an example of this not being true.

Point Four faced up to the fact that we are members of the human race. Being our brother's keeper, we have the responsibility to help our brothers lift their living standards. On a scale far beyond the missionary enterprise, this must be done for the two thirds of the world's population where people are hungry most of the time.

Action: Write your representatives in Congress not to let Point Four be absorbed into a military assistance program, and not to be penny-wise and pound-foolish. In order to win our hungry, needy brothers to the democratic free way of life, we must do more than oppose Communism. Point Four is one answer—dynamic and Christian.

—*H. Richard Rasmusson*

**Changing the Attitude of Christian Toward Jew**, by Henry Enoch Kagan. Columbia University Press. 155 pp. \$2.75.

This is an extremely interesting book on methods for dealing with

anti-Semitic attitudes among adolescent young people.

The author was invited to serve on the faculty of youth conferences sponsored by the Methodist and Episcopal Churches for their young people. Two approaches were employed. With some groups he taught an appreciation of the psalms. To members of these classes he was a friendly and scholarly rabbi who had come to guide their study of a heritage which Christians and Jews share in common.

With other groups there was, in addition to a study of Old Testament passages, a straightforward and frank facing of the problem of anti-Semitism. Members of these classes were encouraged to voice freely their own hostilities, which, in turn, were discussed by the entire group.

Attitudes of the young people were measured before the classes, immediately after, and again some months later—all in what Gordon Allport describes as an "objective spirit" and a "model for research." These findings reveal that the direct approach was a great deal more effective.

Many of us, failing to appreciate how deep are the roots of anti-Semitism, have assumed that it is only a misunderstanding which can be cleared up easily with a little "fellowship" and gentle persuasion. This study requires us to take stock of our approach to all forms of bigotry.

—*Nevin Kendall*



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## Preamble to the —

### Report on Social Education and Action

The Pronouncements of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America are more than a call to the Church for Christian thought and action; they are also a challenge to individuals of Christian citizenship. Are we as professing Christians willing in this time of social, economic, and political upheaval to face our responsibilities not merely as good citizens but also as Christian citizens? A good citizen may be one who votes, is law-abiding, and sets for himself high standards of personal morality. The Christian citizen must exemplify more than these praiseworthy characteristics. He must work for a world-wide community based on Christian ideals, for an equitable social order, and for such an adjustment of all his personal and business relationships as will help to make a reality of the Kingdom of God on earth. He has a unique and universal obligation to love his neighbor as himself. Through his citizenship he expresses his conviction that religion is relevant to the social issues of today. This conviction is "a basic emphasis in our Presbyterian heritage of faith."

While it is true that the Church should seek Christian solutions of the conflicts of our time, these conflicts must be resolved first in the minds and hearts of the Christian men and women who are the Church. Human rights, economic justice, equal educational opportunities, good government, high standards of personal conduct, and world peace will become realities through such means as the United Nations, the schools, and the churches, but only as these groups express the motives, beliefs, and faith of individual Christians. Such a vision of the world that can be demands sacrifice and service; it requires a continuous self-appraisal of the values we live by; it means freeing our minds of the prejudices that are rooted in self-interest.

The Pronouncements of the Church, then, must become the promise of individual Christian citizens to work for their fulfillment. While the Church cannot properly tell its members what they must think and do, it can and should emphasize the universal righteousness of Christian principles of living and the unique and unescapable obligation placed upon those who have given their allegiance to the cause of Christ to work for their fulfillment.

—General Assembly, May, 1954